

# MID-AMERICA

*An Historical Review*

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 2

APRIL 1949

# MID-AMERICA

## *An Historical Review*

APRIL 1949

VOLUME 31

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20

NUMBER 2

---

### CONTENTS

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN ILLINOIS POLITICS 1837-1842 . . .	<i>John H. Krenkel</i> 67
JAMES STUART'S JOURNEY UP THE RIVER MISSISSIPPI IN 1830 . . . . .	<i>W. H. G. Armytage</i> 92
EARLY AGRICULTURE IN PIMERÍA ALTA . .	<i>Richard J. Morrissey</i> 101
ATTEMPTED MAYHEM ON PERE MARQUETTE .	<i>Jerome V. Jacobsen</i> 109
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .	116
NOTES AND COMMENTS . . . . .	123

---

#### MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

#### EDITORIAL STAFF

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL  
J. MANUEL ESPINOSA  
W. EUGENE SHIELS

RAPHAEL HAMILTON  
PAUL KINIERY  
JEAN DELANGLEZ

---

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, \$2.00; in foreign countries, \$2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

# MID-AMERICA

*An Historical Review*

APRIL 1949

VOLUME 31

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 20

NUMBER 2

---

## Internal Improvements in Illinois Politics 1837-1842

When Illinois undertook the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and a system of railroads during the 1830's, internal improvements became the leading political issue in the state. Even at its adoption, support for the internal improvement system sprang from a diversity of motives in the various sections of the state. Friends of the Illinois and Michigan Canal sustained the railroad system in order to insure continued support from the southern counties for the canal. The lead mining region in the northwest was favorable because the line of the Central Railroad from the termination of the canal to Galena would give it a direct connection to the eastern markets via the Great Lakes. The central portion of the state lent its support, though not very enthusiastically. The areas adjacent to the Northern Cross Railroad hopefully looked forward to the time when that line should give them a direct outlet to the east by way of the Wabash and Erie canals.

In southern Illinois, however, the system had its most vociferous advocates. The people of "Little Egypt" hoped that the system of railroads would help them to regain the ground which they had lost to the northern part of the state during the preceding decade. Since the opening of the Erie Canal, the northern sections had received more immigrants than the south, and it was thought the railroads might once more turn back the tide of migration to the latter. The Illinois Central Railroad with its various branches and crossroads was expected to direct much of the trade to the state southward since it gave an outlet to the year-round river transportation on the Mississippi.

Opposition to the system came principally from those sections of the state which would derive no benefits. Counties along the Mississippi in the lower Military Tract were in opposition because they already had an outlet through the river. Greene county had no interest in the system for the same reason. The areas in the southwestern part of the state tributary to St. Louis were singularly neglected when the act was passed, and their voice was raised loudly in protest against the system.

A repeal of the public works program was suggested as early as the special session of the legislature in 1837.<sup>1</sup> Governor Duncan, the inveterate opponent of the internal improvement system, recommended repeal in his message to the legislature on July 11. He was, however, in favor of carrying forward the work on the canal. He thought the other projects should be constructed by private individuals and companies aided by the state. The *Alton Spectator* charged that the governor wanted to grant the credit of the state to individuals and incorporated companies in order to enable himself and a few others to monopolize the transport business of the whole state.<sup>2</sup> Bills introduced for the repeal of the system were laid on the table in both houses of the legislature—in the senate the vote was 19 to 12—in the house 52 to 34.<sup>3</sup> The internal improvement committee of the senate reported a resolution stating that it had "undiminished confidence in the practicability and incalculable advantages of the system of internal improvements throughout the state as adopted at the last session of the Legislature."<sup>4</sup>

The unsettled financial condition of the country inaugurated by

<sup>1</sup> The special session was called for the purpose of protecting the state's deposits in the State Bank. As a result of the panic which swept the nation in 1837, the Bank had been forced to suspend specie payments on May 24. At the time of suspension the State Bank was indebted to the state in the amount of \$979,504.40, as follows:

Capital stock held by the state .....	\$100,000.00
Agreement to pay Wiggins loan .....	100,000.00
State deposits in the bank .....	388,669.51
Canal funds held in Chicago Branch .....	285,834.89
Canal fund on New York loan and premium .....	105,000.00

Governor Duncan's message, *Senate Journal*, 1837, special session, 9. According to a state law passed in 1835, if the suspension of specie payments should continue for more than sixty days, the Bank would forfeit its charter. In the event the Bank closed, the canal funds would be tied up during an indefinite period of liquidation, and construction on the canal would be delayed until the state secured other funds. The legislature's solution of this problem was to pass an act legalizing an indefinite suspension of specie payments. *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, special session, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Alton Spectator*, July 20, 1837.

<sup>3</sup> *House Journal*, 1837, special session, 63, 74; *Senate Journal*, 1837, special session, 67; *Illinois State Register*, July 14, 1837.

<sup>4</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1837, special session, 96.



the suspension of specie payments in May, 1837, caused other people in addition to the governor to question the propriety of continuing with the public works program. The *Vandalia Free Press*, for instance, said that "it was time for the people to pause, and calmly and dispassionately to inquire into the condition of the state before progressing with the system of internal improvements."<sup>5</sup> It pointed out that the interval of a few months had done much to change the prospects of the system's probable success.

The internal improvement question became an issue in the election of August, 1838, when a new governor and members of the legislature were to be elected. The Democrats claimed that the Whig candidates were hostile to the public works program.<sup>6</sup> "Cyrus Edwards, the Whig candidate for governor is against the internal improvement system," the *Illinois State Register* charged. Thomas Carlin, the Democratic candidate for governor, declared that he was in favor of internal improvements constructed and owned exclusively by the state, and should he be elected he promised to do all within his power to facilitate the construction of the projects which had been undertaken.<sup>7</sup>

In a long editorial on January 20, 1838, the *Sangamo Journal* decried the fact that the Democrats sought to make a "Van Buren party measure" out of the internal improvement system. The *Journal* claimed that the Democratic state convention was managed by four commissioners of the board of public works, Ebenezer Peck, J. W. Stephenson, Murray McConnel, and Elijah Willard.

The election of Carlin, the *Chicago Democrat* proclaimed, showed that the people approved of the system and were determined to finish it.<sup>8</sup> To the *Quincy Whig* the election of Carlin had a different meaning. It declared that "to the internal improvement system are the Whigs of this state indebted for the loss of their governor, not that the people were opposed to the system, for that was not a question, but through the influence which it has had in introducing into our state a mass of foreigners as laborers, unacquainted in a great degree with our laws, with our state policy, and the privilege even which they enjoy as voters."<sup>9</sup>

On October 12, the *Illinois State Register* asserted that the Whigs were planning to make a party machine of the internal im-

<sup>5</sup> *Sangamo Journal*, Oct. 21, 1837.

<sup>6</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 9, Mar. 9, 1838.

<sup>7</sup> Circular of Thomas Carlin addressed to the people, *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1838.

<sup>8</sup> *Chicago Democrat*, Sept. 26, 1838.

<sup>9</sup> *Quincy Whig*, Sept. 1, 1838.

provement system at the next session of the legislature, and that if they could not succeed in getting possession of every office connected with the public works, their next policy would be to destroy the whole system.

Governor Joseph Duncan upon his retirement opposed the system more strongly than ever. In his farewell address to the general assembly on December 4, he declared that his stand had undergone no change as expressed in his objection to the passage of the act, and his recommendation of its repeal at the special session of July, 1837. He pointed out that the chief objections which he had to the passage of the bill were the effects the system would have on the purity of elections and the action of the legislature. Then he went on to say that "the short time that has elapsed has verified the soundness of those objections; and when the whole system shall have been completed, and thousands of officers, engineers, agents, and laborers, shall have the same common interest in sustaining or opposing any measure which may effect their pay or pecuniary interests, they will not only, as was the case at last called session, have representatives in your legislature, but will be here in numbers sufficient, openly or covertly, legally or illegally, to control its actions."<sup>10</sup>

The new governor in his inaugural address expressed the opinion that the success of the internal improvements in other states left no doubt of the wise policy and utility of such a program for Illinois. He predicted, "it will open new channels of commerce and trade, furnish a means of transporting products of labor to market, develop natural and hidden resources of the country, stimulate the enterprise and industry of the people." He approved the policy adopted by the legislature for a system constructed and owned exclusively by the state, but he would have recommended less extensive improvements and the construction of the most important works first; however, since nearly \$2,000,000 had been expended already, the system should be completed, but the most rigid economy should be used in the expenditure of the state's funds.<sup>11</sup> Carlin's message led the *Sangamo Journal* on January 5 to inquire what the governor meant by 'modification', "does he mean curtailment or classification?"

The legislature did not heed the advice of Governor Carlin. Instead, it authorized the enlargement of the system rather than its

<sup>10</sup> Message of Governor Duncan, Dec. 4, 1838; *House Journal*, 1838-1839, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Message of Governor Carlin, Dec. 7, 1838; *Ibid.*, 1838-1839, 28.

curtailment. Additional works were projected involving an outlay of nearly a million dollars.<sup>12</sup>

However, the session was not without proposals for cutting down the ambitious program of 1837. In the senate, William Ross of Pike county, moved the adoption of a resolution that the committee on internal improvements be instructed to inquire into the expediency of changing the system based upon the construction of railroads into turnpikes. The resolution was adopted but the committee was soon after discharged from further consideration.<sup>13</sup> Various proposals were made for classifying or curtailing the system.<sup>14</sup> W. J. Gatewood of Gallatin county, in speaking against the classification bill offered by Peter Butler, gave warning that if the progress on the internal improvement system was checked, southern Illinois would retaliate against the canal which in former years it had supported.<sup>15</sup> Byrd Monroe of Clark county made a very sensible proposal in the senate that all work put under contract in the future should be in a continuous line commencing at the terminating points of the various routes.<sup>16</sup>

The house committee on internal improvements was still optimistic over the prospects of the public works program, and in a report on February 16, 1839, expressed the opinion that the system was "within the means of the state to complete without embarrassment to the people or arresting her career of greatness and prosperity."<sup>17</sup> When the bill to incorporate the Albion and Grayville Railroad Company was introduced in the house, the committee reported that it was inexpedient for the legislature to authorize corporations or individuals to construct railroads which might come into competition with similar works in course of construction under the state system of internal improvements.<sup>18</sup>

Supporters of the system were awakening to the fact that additional funds would have to be found if it was to be completed. A letter published in the *Peoria Register* from a New York corres-

<sup>12</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1839, 89-96, 285.

<sup>13</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1838-1839, 40, 63, 135.

<sup>14</sup> By French of Edgar county, *House Journal*, 1838-1839, 359, 419. By Stapp of Warren county, *Ibid.*, 1838-1839, 361, 556. By Hardin of Morgan county, *Ibid.*, 1838-1839, 441, 510. By Henry of Morgan county, *Ibid.*, 1838-1839, 214, 399. By Butler of Warren county, *Senate Journal*, 1838-1839, 269, 277.

<sup>15</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 15, 1839.

<sup>16</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1838-1839, 220.

<sup>17</sup> *Reports General Assembly*, 1838-1839, report of the committee on improvements to the house, Feb. 16, 1839, 3-5.

<sup>18</sup> *Internal Improvement Reports*, 1838-1839, report of the committee on internal improvements to the house on the Albion and Grayville Railroad, Jan. 2, 1839, 1.

ponent stated that while the London market was flooded with state stocks, Illinois might secure loans if a direct tax were provided to insure the payment of the interest.<sup>19</sup> Taxation, however, would be bitterly opposed by the people of the state. Abraham Lincoln suggested a plan of financing the public works program by a speculation in the unsold land of the national government.<sup>20</sup> He introduced a resolution asking permission of Congress for the state to buy all the public lands in Illinois. There were at that time about twenty million acres of unsold government land in the state which would cost \$5,000,000, if purchased at twenty-five cents an acre. Lincoln thought that the state could borrow the money to pay for the land, sell it at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and use the proceeds to pay the principal and interest on the loan as well as the interest on the internal improvement loans until the public works would yield a profit. The house and senate passed the resolution, but the national government refused to accept the plan.

Early in 1839, public sentiment began to turn against the internal improvement system. Partly responsible was the taxation law passed at the preceeding session of the legislature, providing for a levy of twenty cents on each hundred dollars of real and personal property in the state.<sup>21</sup> The proceeds from the tax were to be used to meet the ordinary expenses of the government. This tax had no direct connection with the public works program, but many people feared that it was the beginning of direct taxation to pay the interest on the rapidly accumulating debt. In commenting on the revenue law, the editor of the *Lacon Herald* said that he agreed to devising some plan for augmenting the income of the state to meet the ordinary expenses of the government, but that he could not acquiesce in any direct taxation to sustain the system of internal improvements.<sup>22</sup>

During the spring and summer of 1839, a series of county meetings were held to demand a special session of the legislature to repeal the system. At a meeting in Bond county on March 16, a resolution was adopted condemning both the revenue law and the internal improvement system.<sup>23</sup> The resolution referred to the \$200,000 distributed among the counties without railroads as "hush money," and recommended that the county return its share to the

<sup>19</sup> *Peoria Register*, Jan. 19, 1839.

<sup>20</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 19, 1839; *House Journal*, 1838-1839, 600.

<sup>21</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1839, 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Lacon Herald*, Apr. 20, 1839.

<sup>23</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 22, 29, June 28, 1839; *Chicago Democrat*, Apr. 24, 1839.

state since it was a "bonus bribe intended to influence acquiescence in a premature and ruinous system of railroads." A. P. Field, the secretary of state, in addressing the assembly declared that the system had been founded on specious promises and calculations of profit which could never be realized. The expense of completing the canal and the railroads was estimated at \$21,000,000, which would place an insupportable burden on the state. The meeting appointed a committee which was to request the governor to call a special session of the legislature. In a letter addressed to Governor Carlin on May 27, 1839, this committee wrote that the people were not consulted when the system was established and they would never consent to taxation to support public works.

A Montgomery county meeting held at Hillsboro on April 1, adopted a resolution declaring that the projected internal improvements were unwise and injudicious and that they would impoverish the state and load the people with taxes.<sup>24</sup> A committee was also appointed to prepare a petition to the governor requesting a special session of the legislature. Similar meetings were held in Morgan, Hancock, Pike, Madison, White, Crawford, Warren, Adams, Peoria, and La Salle counties.<sup>25</sup> The Adams and Warren county meetings passed resolutions proposing classification with the state concentrating its efforts on the most promising part of the system. The meeting held at Peru adopted a resolution stating that the canal should be pushed to keep faith with the national government which had donated large tracts of land, but that the railroads should be classified, with the Central Railroad getting the preference for immediate construction. At Peoria the opinion was expressed that the railroads should be abandoned and the canal completed.

Occasionally, however, a word was spoken in behalf of the system as it stood. Residents of Edgar county meeting at Paris on June 3, 1839, declared themselves by a 261 to 60 vote in favor of continuing the public works. They also passed a resolution requesting the governor not to call a special session of the legislature.<sup>26</sup>

The issue of a special session to repeal or modify the public works program was taken up by the newspapers. The *State Register* claimed that the demand for a special session was a Whig scheme to break up the system and elect a member of their party to the United States Senate. It was against abandoning this work and

<sup>24</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Apr. 19, 1839.

<sup>25</sup> *Alton Telegraph*, May 11, 18, 24, 1839; *Illinois State Register*, June 14, 21, Nov. 30, 1839; *Quincy Whig*, July 6, Sept. 7, 1839; *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 16, 1839.

<sup>26</sup> *Illinois State Register*, June 21, 1839.



thought that only retrenchment was needed. In taking a stand against classification it brought forward a scheme by which the people might decide every year what sum they would spend upon improvements. Classification would result in repeal, the *Register* declared, for "strike off a single work, or classify a single road into a second or third class, and you make the friends of such road the mortal enemies of the whole system, and they will go for repeal."<sup>27</sup>

The Whig papers were generally in favor of calling a special session. The *Daily Chicago American* strongly urged that something be done to stop the internal improvements.<sup>28</sup> It declared that the mass of the people wanted a special meeting of the legislature to repeal the system. At least \$3,000,000 more would be spent on the improvements before the next regular session unless something was done quickly to stop the work. The *American* declared that the legislature was not to blame for the system as nearly everyone had favored it in 1837 when money seemed plentiful and the people had thought that the system could be completed without an increase in taxes. The change in the financial condition of the country had put a different light on the whole thing.

The *Quincy Whig* was especially vociferous in its demand for a special session.<sup>29</sup> It contended that there had been a revolution in public opinion against the system since the legislature had last met in the regular session. It recommended that the laborers and contractors should be paid after which the whole system should be suspended. The *Whig* was in favor of building some internal improvements such as good turnpike roads, but it was against taxing the people to pay for building 1300 miles of railroad which it denounced as the "grand Van Buren system."

The sentiment toward the Illinois and Michigan Canal was generally favorable for continuing the project. The *Alton Gazette* was an exception. In an editorial on July 30, the paper declared that when the state should attempt to curtail or modify her system of internal improvements, the first to be dropped should be the canal, a single mile of some portions of which cost more than fifty miles of railroad.<sup>30</sup> It asked why the people of other sections of the state should be deprived of the benefits resulting from improvements when they were likely to be taxed for the construction of a canal less than one hundred miles in length.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 5, 18, June 21, July 6, 1839.

<sup>28</sup> *Daily Chicago American*, May 29, June 1839.

<sup>29</sup> *Quincy Whig*, July 6, Oct. 5, Nov. 23, 1839.

<sup>30</sup> Reprinted in the *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 9, 1839.

When Governor Carlin finally decided in November to call the legislature to meet on December 9, a number of the newspapers changed their position. The Whigs began to doubt the wisdom of calling a special session, though they still professed to favor classification. It appears that the Whigs sought to place responsibility for the special session on the governor, although they had been most insistent in demanding that one be called. The *Sangamo Journal* and the *Quincy Whig* charged Governor Carlin with inconsistency. In July, they declared, he had been an uncompromising friend of the system, but now he was an opponent and friendly to classification. Some of the Democratic papers backed up Carlin while others opposed him. The *Chicago Democrat*, which criticised the governor for calling the special session, was censured for this attitude by the *State Register*, which felt that the criticism was disrespectful to the governor and wholly unmerited. The *Register* declared it would be time enough to censure him after he had given his reasons for calling the legislature together; the governor doubtless knew better than any editor the wishes of the people in this matter, and he had only done his duty in calling the legislature together to discuss the internal improvement program. Democratic leaders at the beginning of the session disclaimed any responsibility for calling the general assembly, and they were inclined to let Carlin explain the reasons and suffer the consequences of having called it.<sup>31</sup>

In his message to the general assembly Carlin gave as his reasons for calling the special session, the demand of the people for a modification of the internal improvement law, and the necessity of doing something to arrest the costly expenditures on what appeared to be unnecessary work.<sup>32</sup> He stated that he had always thought the system too extensive for the resources of the state, and recommended that in the future all labor and expenditures be concentrated upon the most useful and promising roads, and upon the improvement of such of the larger rivers as might be navigable by steamboat, and to suspend operations and expenditures on other works until the more important were completed. The governor gave a summary of the financial condition of the state, estimating the total state debt on account of internal improvements at that time as \$9,752,000, and predicting that the debt would amount to \$21,846,444.50 on completion of all public works authorized by law. He concluded

<sup>31</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 12, Nov. 9, 16, 1839; *Sangamo Journal*, Sept. 23, Nov. 15, 1839; *Quincy Whig*, Sept. 14, 1839.

<sup>32</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1839-1840, 9-12.



with the declaration that some members of the legislature would be unwilling to suspend the projects of their own district but he hoped that selfish interests would be sacrificed for the welfare of the state.

When the special session got under way it soon became apparent that there was little unanimity of opinion on the internal improvement question. Proposals varied from outright repeal to continuation of the system as it was then constituted. Early in the session, Wyatt B. Stapp, representing Warren, Knox, and Henry counties, offered resolutions in the house which denounced the system in harsh words. He declared that the people of the state of Illinois viewed with just indignation and alarm the extravagant and reckless manner in which many millions of dollars had been expended upon works from which there was little prospect of any benefits. He charged that the people had been led to believe that the cost of the system would not exceed \$8,000,000, that they had been deluded into thinking that they were to have railroads to every corner of the state without being taxed one cent, and the dividends on bank stock and the income from railroads would not only provide the interest on all sums paid for the construction of the system but would also produce sufficient revenue to defray the ordinary expenses of the government. Instead, there was a debt of more than \$11,000,000 with the work barely begun, and if the system was to be completed, ruin and desolation, and a debt of at least \$40,000,000 would be the result. Stapp moved that a bill be reported by the committee on internal improvements, repealing the internal improvement law and dismissing the officers of the system in the pay of the state. Robert Smith of Madison county asked that the resolutions be laid on the table, which was carried by a vote of 43 to 40.<sup>33</sup>

Various propositions were placed before the senate for extricating the state from its embarrassment. William H. Davidson of White county proposed a suspension of all operations upon the public works until 1841, in order to give the people of the state an opportunity to express their views upon the propriety of continuing the system by the choice of such individuals at the next general election as would reflect their sentiments upon the question in the legislature.<sup>34</sup> He stated that at the time the system was adopted the people had believed it could be carried without resort to taxation, that the bank dividends, the premium upon bonds, and other sources would

<sup>33</sup> *House Journal*, 1839-1840, 28-30.

<sup>34</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1839-1840, 23, 34-35; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 8, 1840.

be sufficient to defray the interest on the sum borrowed until after the works were completed, when they could support themselves and pay off the principal on the cost of construction. Now that the deranged monetary affairs of the country had dried up those resources, the people should have a chance to decide whether they wanted to continue the works, since they would have to bear the cost.

Senator Hacker of Union county was in favor of suspending work on the less important parts of the system and completing the remainder.<sup>35</sup> He denied that the resources of the state were dried up or that its resources had wholly failed, but he admitted that the system was an extravagant one. He argued that if the whole system were abandoned there would be nothing to show for the money already expended, while if some of the works were completed there might be enough revenue to pay the interest on the principal borrowed. He asked if the senators were "willing to saddle upon their constituents a debt of \$5,000,000 with not a dollar's worth of property to show for money expended." Senator Byrd Monroe, representing Clark and Coles counties, made similar pleas for curtailment.<sup>36</sup> He proposed to abandon 600 miles of railroad, and to repeal nearly all the appropriations made at the last session of the legislature, so as to reduce the cost of the system more than \$5,000,000 and leaving a balance of approximately \$4,000,000 to be expended.

The system had a consistent champion during the debates in William Gatewood of Gallatin county.<sup>37</sup> He declared that if the state abandoned the improvements, private companies would seize the works and appropriate them for their own use. Charters had once been granted to companies for constructing railroads along the routes of the Central, the Alton and Shawneetown, the Alton and Mount Carmel, and the Northern Cross roads. Gatewood charged that those people most clamorous against the system were deliberately attempting to get the state to abandon the works so that these companies might be revived to receive the benefit of the work which the state had done.

Numerous proposals were made for the completion of one certain work while all others were to be dropped.<sup>38</sup> In nearly all such

<sup>35</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1839-1840, 129; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 8, 1830.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *House Journal*, 1839-1840, 46, 211-15, 250, 258, 283, 284, 287, 299; *State Journal*, 1839-1840, 149, 150.

proposals individuals sought to complete works in their own districts. As for example, Rawalt of Fulton county asked for the construction of the Peoria and Warsaw Railroad from Peoria to Canton, Dawson of Sangamon county wanted the Northern Cross road completed, Crain of Washington county and Carpenter of Hamilton county would have continued work on the Central Railroad, and Smith of Madison county sought to have the Alton, Shelbyville, and Terre Haute road completed.

Finally, a bill to repeal the act "to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvements" was passed. The bill was introduced in the senate on December 28, by William Weatherford, representing Morgan, Scott, and Case counties, and after many unsuccessful attempts at amending to retain portions of the system in which different senators had a special interest, it passed the senate on January 20 by a vote of 21 to 19. Eight days later the bill passed the house, 47 to 35.<sup>39</sup> The bill did not become a law, however, through a technicality. When it was on its way through the senate an amendment was offered providing that no money should be paid for the right-of-way except where a railroad may be completed.<sup>40</sup> The amendment was adopted, but not copied onto the bill, and left on a separate sheet of paper. When the bill was read in the house the proviso was not with it, having been lost or abstracted by someone. Upon its return to the senate after having passed the house, the speakers had their names stricken from the bill, when it became known that the amendment was missing. Davidson introduced an order requiring the speakers to sign the bill. The order was laid on the table, however, by a vote of 20 to 19 with the lieutenant-governor, Stinson H. Anderson, casting the deciding ballot.<sup>41</sup> Thus the bill to repeal the system was defeated.

When it was supposed that the system was repealed, an act was passed to settle with the contractors and wind up the system.<sup>42</sup> The old board of public works and the board of fund commissioners were abolished. They were replaced by one fund commissioner and three commissioners of public works. The act provided that construction might continue under the old contracts, but that no new work was to be let until provided for by future legislation. In commenting on the work of the special session, the *State Register* declared that

<sup>39</sup> *House Journal*, 1839-1840, 22, 264; *Senate Journal*, 1839-1840, 64, 133, 134, 153, 155.

<sup>40</sup> Letter of John J. Hardin of Morgan county to the *Peoria Register* reprinted in the *Lacon Herald*, Feb. 19, 1840.

<sup>41</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1839-1840, 230-231.

<sup>42</sup> *House Journal*, 1839-1840, 293, 316; *Laws of Illinois*, 1840, 93-96.

"the system of internal improvements, concerning which the legislature was called together, is undoubtedly unrepealed."<sup>43</sup>

By the close of 1839 complete abandonment of the internal improvement system was becoming increasingly acceptable throughout the state. A number of Democratic county conventions passed resolutions demanding cessation of work on the railroad system.<sup>44</sup> The Democratic state convention, convening in December at Springfield, however, made no recommendations in regard to the internal improvement system.

Both parties sought to place the blame of the state debt on their opponents. The *Quincy Whig* tried to show that the Democrats were not only the first supporters of the internal improvement system, but until it began to grow unpopular with the people, were completely identified with it as a party. The *Quincy Argus* rejoined with the argument that the editor of the *Whig* was ignoring the fact that two-thirds of all Whigs in the legislature in 1837 voted for the measure.<sup>45</sup>

Most Whigs believed the problem of the state debt could be solved only with the aid of the national government. The *Sangamo Journal* stated in an editorial on July 24 that the only solution was the passage of Henry Clay's distribution bill. Whig proposals for assumption of state debts by the national government met the determined opposition of Governor Carlin. In a letter to Richard M. Young, United States Senator from Illinois, Carlin declared:

I must repeat were I in Congress I would vote against any and every measure tending that way, were it even to save Illinois herself. Should the

<sup>43</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 5, 1840.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 30, Dec. 7, 1839; Jan. 4, Apr. 10, May 29, 1840. Scott county Democrats meeting at Winchester on November 2, 1839, passed a resolution expressing their unqualified opposition to the system of internal improvements. A week later the Peoria county Democrats declared, "we are opposed to the further prosecution of the useless and unproductive scheme of the railroad system." The Lee county meeting at Dixon on November 16, favored classification, with river improvement, the Central Railroad, and the two Cross railroads in the first class. The following day the Democratic convention in Sangamon county went on record against further increases in the state debt. On November 19, the convention held at Greenville in Bond county added its disapproval. The Democrats assembled at Brownsville in Jackson county on November 23 passed a resolution declaring that since to complete the whole system seemed impossible without ruinous taxation, the internal improvement program should be curtailed; that the Central Railroad was the most important of all the works and should be completed, while the state was bound to complete the Illinois and Michigan Canal because of the land grant from the national government. A convention meeting at Danville on the same day also advised reduction. Menard county Democrats also gave their disapproval to any further work on the railroad system.

<sup>45</sup> *Quincy Whig*, Aug. 1, 1840; Editorial of *Quincy Argus* reprinted in *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 1, 1840.

government assume the debts of Illinois must she not assume the debts of all other states and of course contribute a like amount to states not indebted, and the whole country become overwhelmed and enslaved.<sup>46</sup>

During the summer of 1840 the canal question became an issue in Cook county politics. A disagreement in the Democratic convention led the disgruntled group to charge that the Democratic ticket was anti-canal. When an independent canal ticket was nominated, the Whigs chose no candidates, but gave the canal ticket their support. The regular Democratic ticket won; John Pearson was elected senator over James Turney, and Ebenezer Peck, Albert G. Leary, and Richard Murphy representatives over W. B. Ogden, John Wilson, and G. A. O. Beaumont. The *Chicago American* charged that the canal laborers were responsible for the defeat of the canal ticket.<sup>47</sup>

Since the state had no funds on hand to meet the interest payment falling due January 1, 1841, the legislature was convened on November 23, more than a month ahead of schedule, in order to give it time to provide means for paying the interest.

In his message Governor Carlin recommended that a bill be passed authorizing the hypothecation or sale of bonds below par to pay the interest due on January 1, 1841.<sup>48</sup> He suggested that an effort be made to secure for the state some of the proceeds from the sale of public lands to meet future interest payments. He recommended, therefore, that the general assemble instruct the Illinois delegation in Congress to use their influence to procure passage of Calhoun's bill ceding to the states the public lands lying within their respective limits, on the condition of their paying into the national treasury, on February 1, annually, one-half of the proceeds arising from the sales and reserving the other half to themselves. The governor further proposed the sale of canal lands to pay the interest on the canal debt.

In discussing the problem of providing means for paying the interest on the debt, the *Quincy Whig* asserted there were but two courses open to the state: taxation or repudiation.<sup>49</sup> "Let us pay now and our credit will rise," the *Chicago Tribune* declared.<sup>50</sup> It

<sup>46</sup> Carlin to Young, Feb. 18, 1840, *Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1855*, edited by Evarts B. Greene and Charles M. Thompson (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. VII, Springfield, 1909), 8.

<sup>47</sup> *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, June 27, July 18, 1840; *Daily Chicago American*, June 25, July 27, 30, Aug. 5, 1840.

<sup>48</sup> Message of Governor Carlin, Nov. 26, 1840, *House Journal, 1840-1841*, 9-16.

<sup>49</sup> *Quincy Whig*, Dec. 26, 1840.

<sup>50</sup> *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1840.



expressed regret that the governor had not favored direct taxation in his message. The *Sparta Democrat* warned that any increase in taxes would meet with serious opposition, but admitted that taxation would eventually be adopted to pay the state debt.<sup>51</sup> R. F. Barrett, the fund commissioner, sent a communication to the legislature, requesting that taxation or some other permanent provision be adopted to provide for future interest payments.<sup>52</sup> He pointed out that the state credit could not be sustained much longer by borrowing. Such expressions favoring taxation, however, were the exception rather than the rule.

After passing a law to provide for the payment of the interest due on January 1 by the hypothecation of state bonds, the legislature proceeded to consider the problem of meeting future interest payments. Many proposals were made, but none seemed to have enough advocates to secure their adoption by the legislature. The house finally appointed a select committee of nine to study the problems of providing for the payment of the interest, the disposition of the system of internal improvements, and the continuance of the canal. The committee made its report on February 27.<sup>53</sup>

Taking up the disposition of the railroad system first, the committee recommended that the plan submitted by the committee on internal improvements be adopted. This plan provided for the total suspension of all operations upon the several works, for the reservation to the state of all lands and rights acquired under the system from forfeiture to the individuals or corporations from whom they were obtained, and for the sale of all the perishable materials and iron belonging to the state. The select committee further concurred in the plan to give up the railroads to private companies upon the condition that the work done by the state should be valued, that the company should expend a sum equal to the valuation and then half as much as would be necessary to complete the work before the state should be called upon to contribute anything further in its prosecution, after which, the state and the company were to be joint proprietors and participate in the profits of the system.

In its recommendations for providing means to pay the interest, the select committee concurred with the finance committee in its plan for taxing the salaries of state officials and members of the

<sup>51</sup> *Sparta Democrat*, Dec. 11, 1840.

<sup>52</sup> Letter of Barrett to the legislature, Jan. 7, 1841, *Reports General Assembly*, 1840-1841, senate, 330.

<sup>53</sup> Report of the select committee of nine, Feb. 27, 1841, *Ibid.*, 1840-1841, house, 389-97.

medical and legal profession and for a graduated tax upon deeds and other instruments of writing to be recorded. It did not, however, concur with the committee on finance in its proposals to tax merchants. The select committee further proposed that, in addition to the taxes already laid, the sum of twenty cents should be collected on every \$100 of property, and that in valuation of real estate the minimum should be fixed at four dollars an acre. Since the revenue to be derived from taxation would not be available for some time, the committee recommended that the governor should be authorized to issue interest bonds in such amount as would be absolutely necessary to raise funds for the payment of interest and the redemption of bonds hypothecated.

The committee further recommended that a law should be passed to legalize the suspension of specie payment by the State Bank, upon the condition that the bank should advance to the state the sum of \$100,000 annually, until the next regular meeting of the general assembly. This bank bonus was to be applied to the payment of state debts other than those due the bank.

For the canal the select committee recommended a steady and rapid progress toward completion. To finance the project the state should issue \$3,000,000 more bonds to be sold.

The legislature eventually passed a law to provide additional state revenue. A tax of ten cents on each \$100 of real and personal property was levied, and the fund raised by this means was set aside for the payment of interest on the state indebtedness. The minimum valuation of any lands subject to taxation was fixed at three dollars an acre. A law also was passed authorizing the governor to issue bonds which the fund commissioner was to sell at the best price possible to raise funds for paying the interest. Another act abolished the board of public works and appointed the state treasurer to adjust its accounts. Finally, a law was passed providing for the completion of that part of the Northern Cross railroad between Springfield and Meredosia. Thus, the internal improvement system was completely disposed of, but the problem of paying the interest on the debt was not solved. The legislature adjourned without making any provision for the continuation of work on the canal.<sup>54</sup>

The Whig papers bitterly denounced the general assembly after it adjourned. The *Vandalia Free Press* declared that after a session of ninety-eight days nothing had been accomplished, that a "more useless expenditure of time and money had never occurred in the

---

<sup>54</sup> *Laws of Illinois*, 1841, 165, 166, 194.



annals of American legislation."<sup>55</sup> In the north both Whig and Democratic papers attacked the Cook county delegation for failing to secure funds to complete the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The Whig papers charged that the partisanship of Pearson, Peck, Leary, and Murphy alienated the friends of the canal in the legislature and foiled their efforts to secure any measures for its completion. It was stated that their own party failed to sustain the Cook county representatives in behalf of the canal, and when they worked for the election of a partisan canal commissioner the Whigs became disgusted and withdrew their support from the canal. The *Sangamo Journal* remarked that Cook and Will counties were reaping the bitter fruit of seed planted by their own hands.<sup>56</sup>

The friends of the canal did not give up hope of its completion. Meetings were held in northern countries and resolutions drafted requesting the governor to call a special session of the legislature for the purpose of devising means to continue work on the canal.<sup>57</sup> Northern newspapers likewise took up the appeal for a meeting of the legislature, and some of them demanded the resignation of the Cook and Will county members in the hope that more efficient ones might be elected to represent the canal region in the special session. Papers in the southern part of the state opposed a meeting of the legislature, although the *Belleville Advocate* declared that the canal would be of advantage in marketing products of that region. Wheat was selling in Chicago at a dollar a bushel, while south of Sangamon county the price was only fifty-eight to sixty-three cents. The difference occurred because the products could be shipped east from Chicago by a continuous water route, the *Advocate* pointed out, and if the Illinois and Michigan Canal were completed, the southern part of the state would enjoy the same advantage.<sup>58</sup>

Governor Carlin expressed the opinion that a called session would be inexpedient because he thought nothing would be done for the canal since the legislature had the same members as at the previous session. He was in favor of selling more state bonds to raise funds for the continuation of work on the canal.

<sup>55</sup> Editorial reprinted in *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 19, 1841.

<sup>56</sup> *Alton Telegraph*, Feb. 13, 1841; *Daily Chicago American*, Jan. 14, Feb. 15, Mar. 18, 1841; *Ninawah Gazette*, Mar. 6, 1841, *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 26, 1841.

<sup>57</sup> Counties holding meetings included Marshall, La Salle, DuPage, Bureau, Stark, Putnam, and Peoria counties. *Illinois State Register*, Apr. 2, 1841; *Ninawah Gazette*, Mar. 13, Apr. 13, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 26, 1841; *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, May 1, 1841.

<sup>58</sup> Clipping from the *Belleville Advocate* printed in the *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 15, 1841.

The Whigs generally opposed further sales of bonds. To support their arguments they pointed to clippings from the *New York Herald* stating that the hypothecation of bonds to Macalister and Stebbins had destroyed the credit of the state.<sup>59</sup> The *Sangamo Journal* argued that while the canal should be completed, the state could never do it through the sale of bonds, but that if the canal were put in the hands of a private company it would soon be completed.<sup>60</sup> The *State Register* opposed this plan on the ground that the state would not receive any revenue from the completed canal with which to pay the interest on the state debt.<sup>61</sup>

The heavy debt and the hard times which made it seem even more burdensome led some people to despair of preserving the state credit and to demand repudiation. Meetings were held in Bond, Montgomery, and Scott counties to protest against additional taxation to pay the state debt. At the Bond county meeting held early in 1841 a memorial was adopted, which Bentley, the county's representative in the house, presented to the legislature. The reasons assigned for repudiation in the petition were that the debt was contracted by the legislature without the consent of the people, that the issue of bonds by the state was in violation of the Federal constitution which prohibits issuing bills of credit, and that to levy a tax to pay interest would be ruinous. After two attempts at reading were refused, Bentley withdrew the petition.<sup>62</sup>

The doctrine of repudiation was quite generally denounced by

<sup>59</sup> In June, 1841, John D. Whiteside, fund commissioner, made an agreement with Macalister and Stebbins of New York to hypothecate with them interest bonds of \$1000 each at the rate of \$400 per bond or forty cents to the dollar. He delivered to the firm 804 bonds with the understanding that they were to pay \$321,600 on the interest due on the state debt, and that they would not dispose of the bonds unless sold at seventy-five per cent of their par value. Whiteside promised that the loan would be refunded within six months, and that 3½ per cent interest would be paid on it during the period. Macalister and Stebbins paid \$261,560.33 on the interest of the state debt in July. As the price of Illinois bonds declined after the contract, Macalister and Stebbins asked for more security and took into their possession forty-two more \$1000 bonds and \$67,215.44 in scrip, so that they held a total of \$913,215.44 in state liabilities as collateral security for the loan of \$261,560.83. The firm had to pledge these bonds in various amounts with different brokers and banks in order to raise money loaned the state. When the fund commissioner was unable to repay the loan in December, the creditors of Macalister and Stebbins proceeded to sell the bonds in their possession in an effort to satisfy the advances which they had made to that firm in order that it might loan the state the \$261,560.83. Five hundred and thirty-five of the state bonds selling at fifteen to twenty cents on the dollar netted only \$89,877.24.

<sup>60</sup> *Alton Telegraph*, Nov. 13, 1841; *Ninawah Gazette*, Apr. 17, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Sept. 10, Oct. 22, Nov. 19, 1841.

<sup>61</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 26, 1841.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 2, Dec. 24, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 21, 1841.

the newspapers of the state, but accusations were hurled back and forth in an attempt to place opposition papers on the defensive. When the *Sangamo Journal* published accounts of the repudiation meetings without any comment, the *Chicago American* expressed a regret and asked the *Journal* if it endorsed the proceedings of those meetings. The *State Register* declared that the *Journal* had stated that the state must choose between repudiation or taxation, and since taxation sufficient to pay the debt was impossible, the *Journal* must be willing to follow a policy of repudiation. The *Journal* on the other hand could point out that a proposed anti-repudiation plank in the Democratic state platform had been tabled. Perhaps the only paper in the state which espoused repudiation was the *Battle Axe*, a sheet without much influence. The *Alton Telegraph*, however, was not far from repudiation when it declared that the payment of interest should stop unless the bondholders would take still more bonds at par.<sup>63</sup>

After July, 1841, the state defaulted on her interest payments and her bonds fell to fourteen and fifteen cents on the dollar. Eastern papers often copied articles from Illinois newspapers discussing repudiation thereby further depressing the credit of the state. Statements were frequently heard in Illinois that the fear of taxation was driving immigration to other states.<sup>64</sup> The *Sangamo Journal* brought forward figures to show that taxes in Illinois were not as high as in surrounding states. It pointed out that in Ohio a two dollar tax was paid on every \$100 of assessed property, in Indiana something like one dollar was paid on the same amount of property and besides, a poll tax was levied there, and in Missouri one per cent was collected on property as well as heavy license taxes, while in Illinois the taxes in no cases exceeded eighty cents on \$100 of assessed property.<sup>65</sup> It must be remembered that other western states had heavy debts as well as Illinois.<sup>66</sup> Indiana had stopped interest payments some time before Illinois, and the state of Missis-

<sup>63</sup> *Alton Telegraph*, Nov. 13, 1841; *Daily Chicago American*, Jan. 12, 1841; *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 1, 29, Nov. 5, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 21, June 11, Nov. 19, Dec. 25, 1841.

<sup>64</sup> Contrary to the common belief that the population of Illinois remained practically stationary from 1840 to 1845, a substantial increase took place. The increase of thirty-nine per cent was a higher percentage than in most other states. *Chicago Democrat*, Jan. 13, 1846; *Reports General Assembly*, 1846-1847, house, 48.

<sup>65</sup> *Sangamo Journal*, May 20, 1842.

<sup>66</sup> Pennsylvania had a debt of \$40,000,000; Alabama, \$11,500,000; Louisiana, \$23,871,000; Mississippi, \$12,500,000; Indiana, \$15,000,000; Ohio, \$13,724,755; and Michigan \$5,000,000. Only seven states were without debts—all small eastern states. Article reprinted from *New York Herald* in *Illinois State Register*, Apr. 23, 1841.

ssippi had adopted a policy of outright repudiation. Thus the financial confusion was general throughout the country, and Illinois was in no worse plight than many of her sister states.<sup>67</sup>

During 1841 and 1842 many proposals were made for rescuing the state from her plight, but in all of them a personal, sectional, or party interest can be detected. The *Sangamo Journal* consistently maintained that if Clay's distribution bill were adopted the state would receive sufficient funds from the public lands to enable her to pay the interest on the debt and complete the public works.<sup>68</sup> The *State Register* opposed Clay's bill on the ground that the policy of distributing the proceeds from the sale of public lands among the states would tend to destroy state sovereignty and consolidate power in the national government.<sup>69</sup> Whig papers quite generally were favorable to the distribution bill as a party policy. The *Chicago American* revived Governor Duncan's plan of internal improvements constructed by private companies to whose stock the state would make subscriptions.<sup>70</sup> It also proposed drastic economy in government and taxation to pay the interest on the bonds. From the northeastern section of the state emanated a plan for applying to Congress for further donations of land to be sold and the proceeds used for finishing the canal.<sup>71</sup> At a meeting held at Ottawa, a petition was drawn up and forwarded to Senator R. M. Young, who was to present it to the United States Senate. The petition made a request for 492,818 acres of land, an amount equal to that which had been received by the state of Ohio. It was the general opinion that if the canal could be completed, the revenue which might be derived from the tolls would furnish a fund which might be applied to the payment of the interest on the state debt. Many Democrats still clung to the hope that more bonds might be sold. The *Sangamo Journal* claimed that the *Quincy Herald* was the only opposition paper which opposed issuing more bonds.<sup>72</sup>

Early in 1842 the *State Register* offered a plan proposing that the debt be paid by a sale of lands, railroad iron, and other state property. Bonds and other evidences of state indebtedness were to be received in payment of the property to be sold. The plan also proposed a separation of the state from the banks, to be effected

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1841; *Sangamo Journal*, Oct. 29, Dec. 17, 1841.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, Apr. 16, May 14, 21, June 11, 1841.

<sup>69</sup> *Illinois State Register*, May 21, 1841.

<sup>70</sup> *Daily Chicago American*, May 11, 1842.

<sup>71</sup> *Alton Telegraph*, Apr. 30, 1842; *Chicago Democrat*, Feb. 18, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Feb. 11, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 18, 1842.

<sup>72</sup> *Sangamo Journal*, Dec. 17, 1841.

by a withdrawal of the bonds held by the banks. A dispute arose over the authorship of this plan. The *Sangamo Journal* claimed that Henderson, the Whig candidate for lieutenant-governor, was the author and that the *Register* had stolen the plan. To these accusations the *Register* replied that William Gatewood should have the honor of the authorship since he had suggested the plan four months previously, and it charged that a statement embodying the plan had been stolen from his office about December 20, 1841.

The *Register* and the *Journal* also engaged in an argument as to the amount of the state debt, the *Register* insisting that the bonds sold by the bank, the appropriated school fund, the federal deposit, and all bonds irregularly sold might be deducted to the amount of six million dollars, and leaving a debt of \$10,213,089. The *Journal* contended that the debt was at least \$17,000,000. The Whig papers apparently took delight in pointing out that such an enormous debt had been contracted during a Democratic administration. The *Ottawa Free Trader* charged that false statements printed in the Whig papers found their way into the columns of eastern journals, where they were magnified so as to result in a loss of faith in the credit of the state by American and European capitalists.<sup>73</sup> With such irrelevant arguments and impractical schemes as were presented the question could not be settled.

At a public meeting held in Springfield a committee was appointed which gave a rather able report on the debt situation. The total of the state debt was estimated at fifteen and a quarter million dollars. The committee reported that the only available income at the command of the state consisted of the revenue from the state tax. This they estimated as sufficient to meet the current expenditures of the government, but no more. The committee believed to the fullest extent in the obligation of the state to pay all her debts, but the necessity of circumstances compelled her to defer payments until practical measures could be adopted after a thorough examination of the state's resources. The return of better times would result in an increase in population and wealth so that the payment of the debt through taxation would not place too heavy a burden on the people. It was also pointed out that savings might be made by economy in public expenditures.<sup>74</sup>

The debt problem and the continuation of the canal became the

<sup>73</sup> *Daily Chicago American*, Jan. 19, 1842; *Illinois Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 21, Feb. 4, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Dec. 10, 1841.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1842.



chief issues in the election of 1842. Whig county meetings generally passed resolutions opposing the issue of any more bonds for any purpose whatever.<sup>75</sup> The Democrats demanded completion of the canal more emphatically than the Whigs.<sup>76</sup> The *Quincy Whig* charged that the *Chicago Democrat* wanted a Democrat nominated who was favorable to the canal, because the canal supported 5,000 laborers, a sufficient number to keep the legislature always Democratic, and to keep Illinois from voting for a Whig candidate for President.<sup>77</sup> When the Democratic papers of northern Illinois proposed to make the canal a party measure, the *State Register* and the *Illinois Gazette* warned that the entire Whig press of the southern part of the state would oppose the canal and destroy all hope of its completion.<sup>78</sup>

The position of the gubernatorial candidates on the internal improvement question was the subject of much debate. The Democrats tried to show that Duncan, the Whig candidate, was the cause of the difficulty in which the state found itself because he had been governor at the time the system of internal improvements was adopted. At Jacksonville on April 29, Duncan delivered a long speech to refute the charge that he had been originator of the system, and quoted his former acts and speeches to show that he had always favored construction of public works by joint-stock companies.<sup>79</sup> The Whigs declared that Thomas Ford, the Democratic candidate, was in favor of completing the canal when speaking in northern Illinois, and against it in his address in the southern part of the state.<sup>80</sup>

In stating his views on the debt and canal questions, Joseph Duncan had no solution to offer but merely told what he would not do.<sup>81</sup> He opposed further sale of bonds at less than par to continue work on the canal, and would not advise an increase in taxation to pay the interest on the debt. He proposed to sell all state properties and bank stock, receiving state indebtedness in payment.

<sup>75</sup> Tazewell county Nov. 13, Madison county Nov. 20, McLean county Nov. 27, and Scott county Dec. 4. The Tazewell and McLean county meetings approved completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal by the state. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 17, 31, 1841.

<sup>76</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 19, 26, Dec. 3, 1841.

<sup>77</sup> *Quincy Whig*, Nov. 6, Dec. 11, 1841.

<sup>78</sup> *Illinois Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1841; *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 24, 1841.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Apr. 1, 15, May 13, June 3, 1842.

<sup>80</sup> *Illinois Gazette*, July 23, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, July 29, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, July 22, 1842.

<sup>81</sup> *Illinois State Register*, May 13, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Mar. 4, 1842.

Being a good Whig he thought that the return of his party to power would bring a prosperity which would enable the state to meet its liabilities. He looked to the national government for aid, rather than for the state to work out its own solution. He promised additional land grants for the canal and aid from the distributive fund if the people would place the Whigs in power.

The views of Ford were not well known as he had not been actively engaged in state politics prior to his nomination for the governorship. During the campaign he opposed any further sale of state bonds. He insisted that the state must acknowledge its just debt and make provision to pay it.<sup>82</sup> Ford won the election.

Governor Carlin, in his farewell address to the general assembly, took a pessimistic view of the situation and offered no practical solution.<sup>83</sup> In an attempt to assign the responsibility for the state's plight, he charged that Illinois as well as other states had been induced to adopt an extravagant system of internal improvements by the wild spirit of speculation engendered by a lavish and reckless issue of paper money by the banks. He estimated the debt at \$11,171,370.65, upon which the legislature would have to provide for the payment of interest. He declared that the sale of state lands could not be relied upon to meet interest payments since there was no money available to invest in land, and taxation also was impossible in consequence of a disappearing circulating medium, a declining tax roll and popular disapproval. Thus, dismissing all hope of making any permanent provision for the payment of interest, Carlin claimed that the only possible solution of the problem was to reduce the principal of the debt by surrendering the lands and other property of the state to the bondholders. He denounced the plan of the Whigs to distribute the proceeds from the sale of the public lands among the states as being unwarranted by the Constitution. He recommended a separation of the banks from the state, and a rigid supervision of the banking institutions in the future. In closing, he apologized for his gloomy view of the state's condition and expressed the hope that his successor might work out a solution.

In his inaugural address, Thomas Ford frankly stated the responsibility of the state to pay its debts, while asking for patience on the part of the creditors until rehabilitation of the state's finances could be accomplished.<sup>84</sup> The total of the state debt he placed

<sup>82</sup> *Illinois Gazette*, July 30, 1842; *Illinois State Register*, July 22, 1842.

<sup>83</sup> *House Journal*, 1842-1843, 16-33.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 1842-1843, 38-51.



at \$15,187,348.71. In presenting his program, Ford let it be known to the people of the state that no oppressive taxation was to be levied; at the same time he sought to convince the creditors that the people were determined to pay the debt. He recommended that the creditors be given at a fair valuation all the land of the state in order to diminish the debt as much as possible. He urged the immediate completion of the canal so as to enhance the value of the canal lands and to give the state a source of revenue for paying the interest on the debt. In conclusion, he asked for strict economy in governmental expenditures and that the banks be closed if they could not resume specie payments within a short time.

Governor Ford deserves much credit for the courageous manner in which he faced the state's financial difficulties. Under his leadership the legislature inaugurated a program which eventually solved the debt problem. Most important, though, in explaining the solution of the financial difficulties are the better times and increased wealth. A study of the following table will show how it became possible for the state to pay the internal improvement debt.<sup>85</sup>

Year	Assessed value of real estate and personal property	Amount of tax charged	Net amount collected for ordinary expenses
1839	\$ 58,889,525.00	\$ 117,779.05	\$ 106,201.03
1840	58,752,168.00	117,821.28	105,411.61
1841	70,196,053.00	210,498.10	189,404.52
1842	72,605,424.00	108,908.08	98,546.14
1843	72,416,800.00	144,833.60	134,754.55
1844	75,757,765.00	151,495.53	140,917.83
1845	82,327,105.00	246,981.22	229,617.08
1846	88,815,403.43	311,118.00	290,075.08
1847	92,206,493.96	339,779.53	314,830.66
1848	102,132,193.97	379,232.01	344,422.93
1849	105,432,752.13	612,428.19	578,763.81
1850	119,868,336.37	702,076.17	593,142.81
1851	137,818,079.30	834,495.60	700,951.26
1852	149,294,805.00	909,472.87	791,749.40
1853	225,159,633.00	1,116,993.37	962,282.09
1854	252,756,568.00	1,279,089.87	1,190,021.18
1855	334,398,425.00	2,260,904.90	2,097,951.43
1856	349,951,272.00	2,368,741.81	2,199,814.43
1857	407,477,367.00	2,750,346.01	2,515,501.08
1858	403,140,321.00	2,739,429.90	2,446,576.77

<sup>85</sup> Data for this table was obtained from the biennial reports of the auditor of public accounts.

It will be seen that the state enjoyed a steady and rapid increase in property valuations after 1843. Even more important was the increase in taxes which the state could collect. It doubtless was less burdensome for the people to pay more than two and a half million dollars in taxes during 1857 than it had been to pay only ninety-eight thousand dollars in 1842.

After 1842, internal improvements constructed by the state, with the exception of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, were no longer an important issue. Those problems which remained were chiefly in connection with the payment of the debt and the chartering of private companies to construct railroads.

JOHN H. KRENKEL

Arizona State College,  
Tempe

## James Stuart's Journey up the River Mississippi in 1830

The two decades after the Anglo-American War of 1812 were the great years of travellers' tales about the new nation. Cobbett, Frances Trollope, and Captain Basil Hall all wrote what were equivalent to best sellers, describing their own experiences. The industry of Dr. Thwaites has made even the minor travel books easy of access, and accounts like those of Fortescue Cuming, John Woods, and William Faux, are reprinted in his series *Early Western Travels*.

But one of the best of them all has been strangely neglected. James Stuart's *Three Years in North America*, published in 1832 in Edinburgh and London, ran to three editions in twelve months before it stopped on the ground that it was too pro-American. Yet Stuart had no conceivable reason to flatter the Americans. He was a well-to-do Scot, in his middle fifties, who returned to England after his visit to become editor of the *Courier*, and later, in 1836, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, with the whole of Scotland and Ireland under his charge.

Moreover, he went through the United States with the eye of a man whose experiential background was considerable. Eight years before, he had been subjected to bitter attacks by the *Edinburgh Beacon*, and later by the *Glasgow Sentinel*. The reason for the attacks was Stuart's whig activity, the writer of the attacks was the great Boswell's eldest son. Stuart took his reputation, like his politics, seriously, and challenged Boswell to a duel. Unfortunately for Boswell, he was killed, and Stuart was tried for Murder on June 10, 1822. The entire trial has been recorded, and the acquittal of Stuart seems to have been fair enough on the grounds that Boswell widened the breach once it had begun.<sup>1</sup>

After his acquittal, Stuart retired to his estate, and five years later, decided to visit the United States. His intentions are nowhere revealed, but it was probably to tide over the time till his friends the Whigs returned to power in Parliament, for Stuart's whig principles were by no means relished in Fife, where he was a landowner.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott uses the duel scene in his *St. Roman's Well*. The matter was hotly debated in the House of Commons (Hansard: *Parliamentary Debates* vii 1324-48, 1357, 1372, 1368-92; and ix 664-690). The trial is reported in *The Trial of James Stuart Esq., of Dunearn before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1822*.

He had arrived in New York on August 23, 1828, and travelled round the eastern seaboard till the beginning of 1830 when he began his journey Southwards with the intention of seeing the Mississippi. On his way down he was introduced to President Jackson, General Macomb, and General Atkinson. He wrote: "The president has very little the appearance or gait of a soldier as I have been accustomed to see them. He is extremely spare in his habit of body,—at first sight not altogether unlike Shakespeare's starved apothecary,—but he is not an ungenteel man in appearance; and there are marks of good humour, as well as decision of character, in his countenance." Eaton, who was then Secretary of War, gave him some useful hints from his own and the president's journey to the south.

However, Stuart did not, as they, travel on horseback. He went by stage to Mobile, and thence by steamer to New Orleans. The boat in which he crossed, under Captain Quin, surprised him by charging only twelve dollars and giving claret even at breakfast. Disembarking within six miles of New Orleans, he came up the canal on a small boat in time to eat his breakfast on 22 March.

He got a room at the Planters and Merchants Hotel, as the hotel to which he had been recommended (Richardson's) was full. A fortnight before he arrived, the State legislature had passed two acts on March 6 and 17 forbidding the publication of tendentious literature on the colour question, and curtailing speech on the slave question. Stuart was surprised at the severity of the laws expelling free coloured people in view of the fact that they were the most conspicuous defenders of the city sixteen years earlier. He remarked on the fact that Louisiana was the only state in which the number of newspapers had decreased in that time, whereas in other states they had doubled and quadrupled. He met Miss Carrol, who was trying to establish reading rooms in the city, and was pleased to hear that the only British Newspaper she was buying was the *Scotsman*.

Though he records that "no state has made more rapid progress in improvement than Louisiana," he lists several shortcomings. There were only forty hackney coaches, whose drivers were most extravagant in their demands. There was no delivery of letters. But his chief complaint was that the slaves were punished so cruelly. Yet he is cautious in this as in other generalisations—for he went to a plantation four miles from New Orleans owned by a Mr. Hopkins, and admitted that the slaves looked well cared for. The sight made him think of the British Colonies, and he regretfully concludes

that there too, education is entirely denied to the black man. Their day of sport was the race ground on the road to the battle field.

Having seen the races and the battleground, Stuart decided to go up the river in the *Constitution* commanded by Captain Paul,—a vessel of 400 tons and 130 horse power. The fare was thirty dollars to Louisville, and fresh provisions were obtained on the banks of the river every day as they daily stopped for wood. Stuart travelled one of the twenty staterooms on the boat, each of which was so much larger than a stateroom on an ordinary packet that there was room for a desk and a couple of chairs. His only complaint was that the substitute for the water closet was in bad order—a fault he found universally in his travels.

They set sail at one o'clock on the afternoon of April 5, three hours later than scheduled time. Spirits of all kinds were on the sideboard, and everyone who came into the boat was invited to drink as much as he liked. The surprise was that nobody seemed the worse for it. Stuart devotes pages of description to the geographical grandeur of the river, the difficulties of its navigation, but he records that already steam had made travelling so easy that a family in Pittsburgh considers it a light matter to pay a visit to their relations on Red River—some 2,000 miles. Yet three fifths of the produce was carried down the river in flats.

He sailed past the great plantations of General Hampton, seventy miles from New Orleans, and the numerous villas on the banks of the river adorned with evergreen shrubs and orange trees. Passengers made remarks about the cruel manner in which Hampton treated his slaves, which was all the more remarkable since they were "obliged to speak with great caution" in view of the recent laws. Four miles from Baton Rouge, the boat stopped at the Mackilop plantation, where Stuart had the pleasure of seeing the owner who was a fellow countryman. They took on board some hogsheads of sugar.

On the evening of the third day they reached Natchez, then a town of 5,000 or 6,000, and Captain Paul warned Stuart to leave his watch and money on board, as he considered the neighborhood of Natchez to be "the most profligate place in the world." Stuart records:

"there are three or four houses, situated at the landing place, open for travellers, in which vice and immorality of every kind are unblushingly displayed. Dancing assemblies, which are frequented by persons of bad character of both sexes, are held in the public rooms of these houses almost every night; and there are rooms in the same houses devoted to gambling".

Gambling however was not confined to Natchez, for among the twenty passengers on the boat was one who made a trade of making money by play. He won one hundred dollars on the trip. Stuart was captivated by the odour of the Pride of India tree, but not by the dancers, and refused to join a party. He remarked how strange it was that such a nuisance should be permitted in America, since in the chief cities there was much more decorum than in Europe.

Seventy five miles from Natchez (where one passenger, a Kentucky farmer, left his wallet and five hundred dollars) they passed "one of the finest and most extensive cotton plantations upon the river, which belonged to Mrs. Tyler, wife of a Protestant clergyman, who was formerly a Mrs. Turner." Further on, he found that a tenant of a wood refuelling spot paid rent of four hundred dollars an acre. Since the *Constitution* used twenty six cords of wood a day (1024 cubic feet) and the average price of a cord was rather more than two dollars a cord, he could recoup his outlay in a fortnight. Another forty miles and they were at Vicksburg "a thriving place on the side of a hill."

On April 9, they passed the red waters of the Arkansas, whose remote sources were as yet unexplored, and the following day Captain Paul took him to see a judge in the neighborhood who gave him some rye whisky—the best he had seen in the United States," for it is very seldom of good quality." The judge told them of a case of Lynch's law being carried into effect on the river, and how he, the judge, had rather thought the example would be productive of good effects "on account of the great number of lawless people at present upon the river." Stuart noticed that all the people carried a large sharp knife, not unlike a carving knife, in the side pocket of their breeches, and remarked "their conversation is quite sufficient to convince a stranger that there is in these wild regions great recklessness of human life."

At Memphis, Stuart had intended to leave the boat and go by stage to Nashville, but he heard that the stage would not be on the road for some time, and so he decided to continue his journey in the *Constitution*. On April 12, the boat was delayed owing to the breakage of an upright shaft, and they drew up at Little Prairie where he recorded the confusion that existed without legal land ownership titles being in force. While they were there, a plantation owner named Brown found that part of his land was being ploughed by another settler called Eastwood. This happened as Stuart was going ashore. He records:



Brown and his two daughters, of whom his family consisted, seemed to be in a state of great exasperation against the intruder. Whether the father or the two daughters were most loud in their imprecations against Mr. Eastwood, it would be difficult to determine; but such oaths and curses as they uttered, I have seldom, if ever, heard. I have never seen more barbarous looking people. Brown had sent his eldest daughter to some neighbor at a distance to borrow a long rifle, that he might take secure aim and bring down the man, but after having got the gun, his affection for the girl prevented him from using it. He bethought himself, that if he had shot Eastwood, she might have been tried as an accessory before the fact. Eastwood's conduct was not so absurd... nothing is more common in the Western States than for settlers to take possession of, and to improve, land, without having ever thought of procuring a title.

They passed Wolf Island, owned by the professional gambler James Hunter, and six miles later came to Gorman's Plantation, where the people said they would be miserable were it not for the camp meetings that were occasionally held in the neighborhood. Stuart felt confident that this feeling was general among the industrious, well-disposed part of the population along the western rivers. At this point Stuart interrupted his narrative to refute "the absurd and wonderful stories which Mrs. Trollope and many British writers on America have sent forth to the world." Stuart agreed with the Rev. Timothy Flint (whom he later met in Cincinnati) that camp meetings were producing a palpable change in the habits and manners of the people.

They passed the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi at twelve o'clock on April 14, when their progress became quicker owing to the slower current against them. Captain Paul asked him if he had ever seen so beautiful a river. Stuart replied that it was not to be compared with the Hudson, and wisely omitted to mention the Rhine. As well as the boat going faster, the wood for the boat was cheaper, for when they stopped at a spot not far from the mouth of the Cumberland river, wood was a dollar and a half and a dollar and a quarter per cord. Stuart noticed the bright yellow slippers of those who carried the wood aboard. More and more cultivation began to appear as they approached their landing place at Shipping-port, which they reached on the night between April 16 and 17, landing between five and six o'clock on the morning of April 17. Four horsed Hackney coaches took them to Louisville, a mile distant.

So James Stuart, the Scots lawyer, came up the Mississippi in twelve days, with twenty other passengers. The males had played draughts, backgammon, or cards, often with the pilots and mates.



"People of all different stations in point of wealth associated together, on perfectly equal terms, during the voyage" he noted. Of Captain Paul he had written on April 5 that "he is rough, or more properly blunt in his address, and like the southern people in general, never opened his mouth without swearing." But at the same time he remarked "he is frank and good humored, and most assiduously attentive to his duty; so much so that I don't believe he slept an hour at one time during the twelve days which I spent with him." Apparently Captain Paul had need of brusque speech, for the passengers were too fond of congregating on one side of the boat near the landing deck, with the result that the boat used to heel over. Since this had the effect of draining the boilers on the other side, there was danger of an explosion. Bursting boilers on the Mississippi at that very time included three fine vessels—the *Huntress*, the *Caledonian*, and the *Kentucky*.

Of his passengers, he mentions three. There was the Kentucky farmer who lost the five hundred dollars at Natchez. There was Bamborough, a portrait painter, who boarded the boat at Natchez; who came out from England originally to farm but now found that he could make more by travelling round as a professional artist. Finally there was the inevitable Scot—this time a Macleod, a locksmith from New Orleans, who admitted that his sobriety and health kept him alive while all his friends in the city died through remaining there in the unhealthy part of the season. Macleod was making this trip for exercise and health, out of the seventy-five dollars a month which he received in New Orleans.

Stuart was keen to notice the improvements which were being made. The first was the new double steam boat that was removing the obstructions to navigation of the river. This consisted of a couple of steam boats, united at the bows by an immense beam, which pulled up the sawyers and planters with great ease and rapidity. It was the invention of an old pilot called Captain Shreve, and cost between 26,000 and 27,000 dollars. Congress had granted some 30,000 dollars to enable the scheme to work. The second was the canal to obviate the falls on the Ohio, which made the town of Louisville exist by portage. Stuart remarked "there is at present a want of funds, but the work is so far advanced that there is no risk of it not being completed."

The lure of the river proved too strong for James Stuart to dally in Louisville, although he met several people there who had formed part of Robert Owen's establishment at New Harmony—Ainslie a Scotchman, who was now a prosperous brewer; Simkins, an English-

man, now a store keeper, and MacKenzie another Scot, also in the same business. He also saw Mrs. Drake, the best actress in the United States "who would be reckoned a good actress anywhere." There were public reading rooms on the one hand, yet on the other a curious absence of manners. "At the hotel table at Louisville there was a greater rush into the room when dinner was announced, than at any other place where I have been," he wrote. The theatre also came in for comment for it had a separate entrance "for ladies who were not received in polite society." Evidently these were the ladies who lived a little way out of town where there were "two or three houses, obviously occupied by females of light character, as they display themselves at the doors. This is a nuisance which certainly ought to be abated, as well as the still more flagrant abomination of the same kind which exists at the landing place at Natchez; but it would be unfair," Stuart went on, "not to mention, that, with these exceptions, I have seen no instance of female indecorum in the streets of any of the cities or villages of the United States."

So, on April 20, after a three day stay at Louisville, he embarked on the *Volunteer*, with the intention of travelling to St. Louis. This involved retracing some of the journey to the Ohio—Mississippi junction, and then sailing up river once more. This time he was in a much smaller boat. The *Volunteer* was only 120 tons and sixty horse power, as opposed to the *Constitution's* 400 tons and 130 horse power. This time he had some very interesting passengers on board with him, and the five days were spent in some conversations which are of value to the social historian.

To begin with, there was Mr. Garrard, who had been an English farmer, and who came to Pittsburgh to farm with English servants. He did not make his farm pay. So he took another, and this time employed American servants, who ate and boarded with him, and he was now prospering. He said that they were ten times better informed than Englishmen, who knew nothing beyond their own business about farming and marketing. The other reason was that an American was more ready to put his hand to all sorts of work, whereas an Englishman would not. All Garrard's implements were bought at Pittsburgh "as well as if he were in London."

Also on board was Mr. Mather, formerly speaker of the House of Representatives of Illinois. Mather told James Stuart how Birkbeck had been responsible for preventing Illinois from being a slaveholding state during his brief period as secretary of state. Mather recommended the Sangamon district of Illinois as very fine land; the sentiments were probably evoked by the fact that four upper

cabin passengers were travelling from New Hampshire to settle in Illinois.

But perhaps the most singular passenger on the boat was an old officer from the Peninsular War against Napoleon, who had fought at Corunna, but who, on his return, had got embroiled in the famous political meeting at Manchester which was fired on by the Hussars and earned the name of "Peterloo." He was now the owner of a manufacturing house on the Ohio. Stuart goes on:

"He cannot live comfortably without his port wine, He cannot get it good at the hotels, or in the steam boats of this country, and therefore carries it about with him in large bottles called Jeroboams."

It was as he was relating the story of Peterloo to his fellow passengers, perhaps over some of this port, that he was corrected by a Mr. Keyte, who had been at the same political meeting, and who was now a merchant "of some eminence" at St. Louis. Apparently Keyte was dealing in real estate by buying the bounty lands from the soldiers or their representatives.

Port was not the only liquor carried on the *Volunteer*. There was a German among the deck passengers who had 2,300 gallons of Monangahela whisky, and had already carried it 1,700 miles to sell it. He proposed to sell it at one shilling a gallon, and it was, as Stuart says, "of tolerable quality."

In one of the stopping places for wood, just above the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio, Stuart had a chance to speak to a farmer who claimed to be descended from his namesake, Bishop Brox, of England. Brox disposed of the livestock on his 700 acre farm to New Orleans butchers, who journeyed all over the country to make their purchases. Brox had the common farmer's complaint—prices were too low.

As they went further up the river the appearance of the Mississippi changed a good deal for the better, and a greater number of old French plantations came into view as the high lands approached nearer to the river. Fifty miles up, after the Ohio, they passed Cape Girardeau, where the plantation stretched forty or fifty miles into the interior. Deer were swimming in the river. Another forty miles they passed a decaying French settlement, older in date to Philadelphia, and now with only a thousand inhabitants to its former seven thousand. St. Genevieve Island, seventy miles from St. Louis, was also largely French, and also twice as large. Herculaneum, Missouri, had a great name as a shot manufactory.

At last, on a cold Sunday morning on April 25, he left the river.

He had been impressed by the handsome approach to the town, as they saw on the west side of the river three parallel street of houses rising above each other, with the principal street over a mile long. He was now to take to the road again.

His remarks on this trip damned his book as a classic of travel in the manner Frances Trollope's or Captain Hall's have become, largely because he was held to have been too pro-American and apt to condone their treatment of slaves in the south. In the edition which I have been using, which belonged to George Grote, the famous Utilitarian and English historian, who was Vice-Chancellor of London University, there is a pencilled comment on the front page which illustrates better than any formal review what contemporaries found to criticise in James Stuart's book.

I observe that Mr. Stuart's partiality in favor of the Americans amounts to prejudice, for while he praises them whenever he thinks them deserving, he carefully restrains from blaming them even with regard to the foul stain upon their national character which consists in their feeling towards the colored population and their barbarous treatment of them. Are these Tyrants themselves free? See page 109. No Mr. Stuart, whatever the merit of your book may be, you are not an impartial writer and I hardly know how to trust you."<sup>2</sup>

This may explain why an account, so rational and easy in its composition, and so full of incident for the historian, has been so long neglected both in England and America.

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

University of Sheffield, England

<sup>2</sup> Stuart, in his page 109, is describing the erection of a church on a spot where a theatre had been destroyed by fire, with an abjuration which Grote probably considered superstitious.

So radical did Stuart's book appear to English readers that it was banned by the governing body of the Lincoln Mechanics' Institute, a fact which was bitterly lamented by Richard Cobden, who made a secret trip to America himself in 1835. He described Stuart's work as "probably the best, because the most matter-of-fact and impartial of all the writers on that country." *England, Ireland, and America*, by A Manchester Manufacturer, (i.e. Richard Cobden), Manchester, 1835, 103. Cobden was incensed at the effect which the writings of Mrs. Trollope and Basil Hall had on the middle class reading public.

## Early Agriculture in Pimería Alta

In 1591, missionaries of the Society of Jesus entered Sinaloa and began the northward advance, and by 1697, thirty Jesuits in the Mayo, Yaqui, and Sonora River valleys were serving about 40,000 neophytes in seventy-two pueblos. Before 1687, the northwestern frontier of New Spain did not extend beyond the Altar and San Ignacio Rivers. Flowing from east to west, these watercourses separated a comparatively well-settled country from a vast, unsubdued and little known land. To this northern "tierra incognita" which pertained to the province of Nueva Vizcaya was given the name Pimería Alta, land of the upper Pima Indians. Extending northward from the Altar River to the Gila, and westward from the San Pedro to the Colorado,<sup>1</sup> Pimería Alta was an unplumbed reservoir of heathen souls and potential riches. The Piman inhabitants were sedentary farmers, for the most part, and readily amenable to the gifts of Christianity.

From the Huachuca Mountains south to the Altar lived the Pima proper, concentrated in valleys formed by San Pedro and Santa Cruz on their northward course. Dwelling on these same streams to the north of the Pima were Sobaipuri, while the desert west of the Santa Cruz was sparsely populated by Papago, or "Bean Eaters."

The area thus comprised was rugged, dry and little suited to agriculture except along rivers and near springs. That an extensive native agriculture did develop under such adverse conditions of topography and climate is a compliment to the Indian ingenuity which devised it.

In the San Ignacio River valley there were many fields divided by irrigation ditches, and the village of Caborca on the Altar River raised crops of maize, frijoles, and squash,<sup>2</sup> and on the Santa Cruz and San Pedro cotton for garments was grown in addition to the above mentioned staples.<sup>3</sup> At Ranchería de San Agustín de Oiaur, present site of Tucson, Arizona, crops of maize, frijoles, cotton, pumpkins, muskmelons, and watermelons were under irrigation. There the prosperous and cautious Sobaipuri had stored up many supplies against future misfortune.<sup>4</sup> The diet of the desert dwelling

<sup>1</sup> Father Francisco Eusebio Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, translated and edited by H. E. Bolton, Berkeley, 1918 I, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Mange, "Luz de Tierra Incognita," *Publicaciones del Archivo General*, Mexico, 1926, X, 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 256.



Papago was less varied their sterile surroundings producing few crops and mostly a stunted variety of frijole.<sup>5</sup>

Periodic floods inundated fields and uprooted seedlings.<sup>6</sup> During such periods of emergency, recourse was made to the plentiful wild fruits of the desert, chief of which were the fruit of the saguaro cactus (*pitahaya* in the Piman tongue) and the mesquite bean. So important was the June harvest of the *pitahaya* that it marked the first month of the Piman calendar.<sup>7</sup> This fruit was about the size of an egg and when ripe possessed a red color and sweetish taste. Rind similar to that of an orange surrounded pulp and many small seeds. All was eaten, but "in order to pluck it and free the rind of its particles, it is necessary to have the lazy disposition and deft hands of the Indian," wrote a frustrated Jesuit padre.<sup>8</sup>

Mesquite beans were harvested later than the saguaro, and the crop was prone to fail—"especially in hard times," naively complained the Pimas. The beans were eaten raw or dried in the sun and ground into fine flour on a stone *metate*, a device alike in operation to a mortar and pestle. The meal then could be stored indefinitely and used as desired, either with water as gruel or baked into small cakes. From the mesquite tree, too, were derived tender leaves and shoots for stews.<sup>9</sup>

The root of the maguey, or American aloe, was frequently utilized as food. Quite similar to the West Indian cassava, maguey root was rendered palatable by prolonged boiling or by roasting. In the latter process a pit was dug, lined with stones and thoroughly heated by fire. Into the hot ashes the root was dropped, covered for a day and night and removed ready to eat.<sup>10</sup> Other important items on the native Piman menu were wild grapes, acorns, wild lettuce, and *tuna*, which was fruit of the prickly pear.

Various substances were used in brewing divers liquors, all potent and commonly used. Sometime after the Spanish occupation of this area, Bishop Benito Crespo of Guadiana proscribed the processing of maguey root into mescal brandy. Because they encouraged debauch and fantastic orgy, he threatened with excommunication

<sup>5</sup> Father Javier José Molina, "Carta al Señor Gobernador y Capitán General Don Agustín de Vildosala," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, Mexico, 1856, 197.

<sup>6</sup> Cristóbal Bernal, "Relación . . ." *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, Mexico, 1856, 805.

<sup>7</sup> Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1904-1905 Washington, 1908, 36.

<sup>8</sup> "Rudo Ensayo," *American Catholic Historical Society*, V (1894), 149.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 152

all Spaniards who gave assent to native drinking bouts. Despite this prohibition, the Bishop permitted distillation of brandy for medicinal purposes, "the beverage used in moderation having great-healing qualities."<sup>11</sup> Also, pleasant and intoxicating wines were made from *pitahaya* and mulberry, and the products of the alder tree contributed a more potent type liquor.<sup>12</sup>

Food preparation among the Pima was not far advanced. Stewing, roasting, and drying were most common, and fortunately the arid atmosphere of Pimería Alta quickly dehydrated vegetables and made long storage feasible. Muskmelons, pumpkins, squash and the fruit of *saguaro* all were cut into strips and dried, forming a stock of provisions against future need.<sup>13</sup>

Maize was by far the most important crop to Pima tribes, *pinole*, a sort of gruel formed by boiling together ground maize and water, being the most common dish. To prepare for consumption, maize was roasted on the ear and dried, and a rough meal then was made by grinding the parched kernels on a stone *metate*. Either *pinole*, as suggested, or a crude cake was the finished product. Still another method of maize preparation was to boil shelled grain in ashes (thus utilizing the lye content) and removing the hulls to form a variety of hominy.

Peculiar topographical and climatic problems encountered early necessitated improvisation of suitable agricultural methods. Rotation of crops was not practised, but this fact can hardly be used as a criterion to assess this culture, for seasonal deposits of rich silt along river bottoms precluded any such necessity. Indeed, like the River Nile, the Rio Yaqui insured opulent yields only when it did overflow and thus renovate soil.<sup>14</sup> Evidences of irrigation were manifold and extensive. On the Gila stood Casa Grande, a large adobe structure so named by early Spanish explorers. Two leagues away, up the river, was a tremendous reservoir, "holding sufficient water to supply a city and to irrigate for many leagues the fruitful land."<sup>15</sup> With water the desert bloomed, and on both banks of the Gila "so much cotton is raised and so wanting in covetousness is the husbandman, that, after the crop is gathered in more remains in the fields than is to be had for a harvest here in Sonora . . .," wrote an anony-

<sup>11</sup> "The Relation of Philip Segesser," translated and edited by Theodore E. Treutlein, *MID-AMERICA*, XXVII (July, 1945), 149.

<sup>12</sup> "Rudo Ensayo," 154.

<sup>13</sup> Russell, "The Pima Indians," 71

<sup>14</sup> "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 179

<sup>15</sup> "Rudo Ensayo," 127

mous Jesuit father.<sup>16</sup> At Casa Grande, a *madre acequia*, or main ditch, ten *varas* wide and four *varas* deep<sup>17</sup> carried water to arterial ditches<sup>18</sup> and thence to thirsty fields. Lt. Juan Mange, military factotum of Pimería Alta, from 1694 to 1702, remarked the first time he viewed this canal that it could possibly serve for protection as well as for irrigation.

Where no flowing stream watered the land, Pima Indians used flood irrigation. Hillsides were cleared of brush to allow rainfall to run off freely, and at the base of the slope dykes were constructed which caught and restrained the water, guiding it into useful channels. Literally miles of great canals could be traced across mesas as well as along river bottoms.

All aspects considered, Piman agriculture was a praiseworthy answer to the challenging environment in which they worked; and when Spanish missions were planted in this land, much dependence was placed upon these excellent, though sometimes indolent, farmers.

Near the headwaters of the Altar river the Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was begun in March, 1687, by Father Kino. This marked the initial Spanish occupation of Pimería Alta. To feed the multitude of mission neophytes and instruct them in the rudiments of civilized life, it was necessary to augment and perfect the native agriculture described in preceding paragraphs. Not only was mission agriculture needed to feed the converted host, but also to sustain missionary fathers. Annually the King of Spain allotted three hundred pesos from New Spain's treasury for support of each missionary in Sonora.<sup>19</sup> Out of this sum the fathers were required to support themselves, but a far greater amount was expended for church ornaments and Indian demands than for personal needs. On every *arroba*<sup>20</sup> of goods shipped overland from Mexico City to Sonora a freight charge of four *pesos* was levied.<sup>21</sup> Practically forcing the missionaries to depend upon the country about them for sustenance.

The system of agriculture devised for Sonora missions by the Society of Jesus made each Indian responsible for his own support, and the Indian village, or *pueblo*, collectively responsible for support of the mission. During each week the natives devoted three days of labor to personal fields and three days labor to communal fields

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 128

<sup>17</sup> A *vara* equals 2.78 feet, or about 33 inches.

<sup>18</sup> Mange, "Luz de Tierra Incognita," 253

<sup>19</sup> Theodore E. Treutlein, "The Economic Regime of the Jesuit Missionaries in Eighteenth Century Sonora," *The Pacific Historical Review*, VIII (September 1939), 290.

<sup>20</sup> An *arroba* equals about twenty-five pounds.

controlled by the mission.<sup>21</sup> Farm implements of European origin, such as iron hoes and axes, were introduced and furnished to each village.<sup>23</sup> At planting time the Indian governor and justices of the pueblo called to the mission for necessary seeds, which were then apportioned by the father. A yoke of oxen and a plow also were maintained for community use.

That portion of the mission crop which was not utilized as food was sold to Spanish miners who invested the region after a rich silver strike near Guebavi in 1736. "Everywhere there are people who seek metal uphill and downdale; but there are few persons who wish to work. Since there are no inns in this country, these fellows move from house to house with their bare-boned nags and somehow earn a right to sponge and lounge about."<sup>25</sup> Yearly the missionaries purchased from three to four thousand pesos worth of cotton and linen cloth for the Indians, and the funds came from the sale of excess garden and field crops, in which maize was the most abundant product.

Many plants were introduced from Europe. Although it would be extremely difficult to ascertain the exact time and place of introduction into Pimería Alta, certain foreign crops made a very early appearance in that area. In 1697, Father Kino planted wheat at a *ranchería* which today is Mission San Xavier del Bac, an institution still flourishing near Tucson, Arizona.<sup>26</sup> Straw from two different varieties of wheat and one kind of barley, all newly introduced into the land, were utilized in constructing Mission San Cayetano del Tumacácori in 1701.<sup>27</sup> At San Valentín on the Altar river a type of wheat straw entirely different from the above mentioned was used in constructing a mission building in 1706.<sup>28</sup> In mission gardens chick-peas, lentils, lima beans, kidney beans, peas, mustard, radishes, anise, sugar cane and Castillian grapes soon appeared.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ignaz Pfefferkorn, *Description of the Province of Sonora together with other noteworthy accounts about the Interior Parts of New Spain...*, unpublished translation by Theodore E. Treutlein, I, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Don Diego Oritz y Parilla, "Carta...", *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, 898.

<sup>23</sup> Padre Antonio de los Reyes, "Memorial Sobre las Misiones de Sonora, 1772," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 5, 755.

<sup>24</sup> "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 150.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>26</sup> Cristóbal Bernal, *Relación*, 807.

<sup>27</sup> George W. Hendry, "The Adobe Brick as a Historical Source," *Agricultural History*, (July, 1931), 111-12, tells of identifying in adobe bricks remnants of these plants.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>29</sup> "Estado de la Province de Sonora," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, 626.

These exotic foods came as alien, and they remained to flourish. Wheat was planted in the fall and harvested in early spring, producing from twenty five to fifty bushels in return for one bushel of seed. The greatest problem presented in cultivation of wheat was absence of natural moisture, but this was partially solved by application of the same irrigation methods earlier used by the native Pima. Exactly in reverse was the problem of Indians dwelling along the Gila, who were periodically deluged with too much water.<sup>30</sup> Working on the theory that the one ploughing given by natives of Pimería Alta to their fields was insufficient and the cause of small crops, Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn at the Mission of Cucurpe determined to give Sonoran soil a test of fertility under ideal conditions. He ploughed a fresh plot of earth three times, cultivating it thoroughly. This piece of land he planted in wheat and received an extraordinary yield of seventy five units of grain for each unit of seed planted.<sup>31</sup>

The threshing of wheat in Pimería Alta was accomplished by horses and mules.<sup>32</sup> Immediately after harvest the missionary or "boss farmer" of the mission selected a hard, flat plot of ground. Around this, posts were deeply imbedded and fastened together by crosspieces. The corral thus formed was large enough for twenty five to thirty horses. Leading to it was a narrow lane walled with thick shrubbery and strong branches which extended for two or three hundred paces into the open field. Horse or mules, once entering this sturdy palisade, could not escape. Sheaves of wheat were scattered in the enclosure until they covered the ground. Now the "dance" would begin. The animals were forced into the corral and driven around and around by an Indian mounted on the wall and armed with a long whip. To prevent dizziness, they occasionally were turned in a reverse direction and were rested when weariness was apparent. Trampled straw was overturned with rakes to allow for complete threshing. In this manner a large amount of grain could be handled in a few hours. After threshing, the mass of straw and grain would be tossed into the air, and after the wind had blown away the chaff, the grain could be cleansed of refuse such as sand and straw.

Garden produce grew to large sizes, radishes and onions responding especially well and melons reportedly attaining weights of twenty to thirty pounds.<sup>33</sup> Spanish pepper, or chile, was a popular, though delicate crop, which had to be watered every day, and the

<sup>30</sup> Padre Jacobo Sedelmair, "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ser. 3, Pte. 6, 850.

<sup>31</sup> Pfefferkorn, *op. cit.*, 28.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.



slightest frost was fatal.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the field had to be kept absolutely clear of weeds. This pepper was prepared for eating by roasting in ashes or used as a salad with vinegar and olive oil. Both Spanish and Indians ate it with such great gusto that "their mouths froth and tears come to their eyes," declared Father Pfefferkorn. This same Jesuit, a native of Germany, reacted to the universal use of this spice in the following way:<sup>35</sup>

The constant use of this hot sauce is at first an unbelievable hardship for the European. He must either be content with dry bread or burn his tongue and gums as I did when, after a difficult fifteen hour journey, I tried for the first time to still my hunger with such a dish. After the first mouthful the tears started to come. I could not say a word and believed I had hell-fire in my mouth. However, one becomes accustomed to it after frequent bold victories, so that with time the dish becomes tolerable and finally very agreeable.

Sugar cane was introduced and became widely cultivated. Bread dipped into liquid sugar soon was Pimería Alta's most popular dessert and was especially acclaimed by Indian groups.<sup>36</sup> Canes grew from four to five ells tall and about three to four inches thick. Every January the crop was harvested and the tops immediately severed from the cane in order that they might be deeply set in moist earth, there to be kept until March when they were transplanted. Each cane top was good for about three year's planting before deterioration set in. The mill, or *trapiche*, was a simple affair, consisting generally of three vertical rollers, geared and turned by a horse or mule.

Cotton cultivation as carried on by early Indian inhabitants was continued under mission fathers.<sup>37</sup> Seeds were planted in March and April for an October or November harvest. Some farmers preferred to utilize the same shrub for several seasons. Each autumn, if this latter method was followed, the plant was cut off at the ground and covered with straw. Roots treated and protected in this fashion produced cotton for three or four seasons.

Maize was planted by the Spanish farmers in March, April, or May and harvested during August, September, or October. Frijoles were planted the last of July and picked from the middle to the last of November.

The following foreign fruits were introduced into and successfully grown in Pimería Alta, although incessant care was essential to their welfare and probably precluded any extensive adoption by

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

non-mission Indians: pomegranates, quince, figs, pears, apricots, grapes of all kinds, peaches, oranges, limes, lemons, and apples. Generally speaking, these fruits from another land responded well to the soil and climate of Pimería Alta. Figs tasted as though they had been "baked in sugar," and lemons and oranges contained twice as much juice as those purchased in Germany, wrote Father Pfefferkorn of Cucurpe.<sup>38</sup> Apples seem to have been the one unhappy exception. They would not ripen on the tree and so were picked in October, placed in chaff and thus ripened.

Jesuits of Pimería Alta tried in vain to make a palatable wine. Though there were two small vineyards at the town of Guasavas<sup>39</sup> and a fine large vine at Mission de Caborca,<sup>40</sup> the grapes produced were generally too acrid for use. Most probably alkali soil and mineral-laden water caused this. If the Jesuits had been successful in their efforts, they would have saved a conspicuous item of expenditure, since Spanish wine in Sonora cost sixty pesos for a small keg holding about ten gallons.<sup>41</sup>

Cattle, sheep and horses were numerous, grazing freely upon hills and valleys near the missions. To renew these pastures, the Indians sometimes intentionally set fire to the dry grasses before the rainy seasons in late summer and early spring.<sup>42</sup> This brought forth tender, young shoots and aided in fattening the livestock. The animals were quite low in price, a cow or an ox selling for ten pesos, a steer for five pesos, and a calf for two or three pesos.

Mules were much in demand to haul freight, and in each *manada* of twenty-five mares and one stallion an ass was allowed to run, some mares thus producing mule foals.<sup>43</sup> While tamed horses only sold for about ten pesos, a good mule was worth one hundred pesos.

In these first days of Spanish settlement, the mission was a center for a good life for most of the farming of Pimería Alta. Later onslaughts by warriors of Apachería and friction between temporal and secular authorities changed this simple mode of existence. Both native and Spanish agriculture, however, had left deep imprints upon the farming institutions which have been carried down to the present.

RICHARD J. MORRISEY

University of California at Davis  
College of Agriculture

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.

<sup>39</sup> "Rudo Ensayo," 210.

<sup>40</sup> Reyes, "Memorial," 317.

<sup>41</sup> Treutlein, "The Economic Regime of the Jesuits," 295.

<sup>42</sup> "The Relation of Philip Segesser," 157.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

## Attempted Mayhem on Père Marquette

It has been a consensus among historians for years that very little can be added to what is known of the life of Father James Marquette, the Jesuit priest who accompanied Jolliet on his voyage of exploration of the Mississippi in 1673, who returned in the winter of 1674-1675 to Illinois to evangelize the Indians, and who died near Ludington, Michigan, on his way back to St. Ignace in 1675. These facts have been commonplace knowledge for generations. Many pages of MID-AMERICA have been devoted in the past to the detailed findings of scholars of Father Marquette's life and journeys. Gilbert J. Garraghan was tireless in his efforts to find all the minutiae in archives of Europe and America, and he published whatever he found of the Marquettiana documents in various articles and books. From a research viewpoint all is complete. There seems to be nothing more to say.

Recently, however, in two scholarly magazines several statements have been made by one writer, whose purport is to perpetrate mayhem on the name of Marquette as a hero, a priest, a priest-explorer, and as a missionary to the Illinois. Strange as it may seem, the writer is a Catholic priest. Strangely, too, the chief and (we hope) unwitting accessory is a magazine under Catholic auspices. Far be it from us to take the case to court or even to embark on any unseemly dispute with fellow clergymen. Since the writer of the remarks draws largely on the Institute of Jesuit History publications for his authority and in a friendly way encourages its scholars to get at the truth, we wish in an amicable fashion to explain the truth in some detail and thus to preclude answering individual letter writers on the subject of Marquette's "paternity."

There is "strong proof, however negative, that Jacques Marquette was not an ordained priest of the Catholic Church," says Joseph Carlton Short, of St. Patrick's Church, New London, Wisconsin, in his article "Jacques Marquette, S.J., catechist," published in *La Revue de l'Université Laval*, Quebec, January 1949, page 436. This remark on the first page of the article, this "strong proof, however negative," becomes at the end of the article the "inescapable conclusion that Marquette was not a priest, and that, in consequence, the whole narrative of the second voyage of Marquette to Illinois must

be regarded less as an historical document than as a charming bit of fiction." This, according to Father Short, is "startling information." It is merely startling.

Again, in a review of Father Delanglez's recent *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet*, which Father Short terms "a marvelous piece of scholarly research," we find the attack on Father Marquette continued. This review appeared in *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1948. There, page 228, is found the key to Father Short's mistake. It is stated that Marquette made "his final vows as a *spiritual* coadjutor and formed lay brother, being ineligible for the priesthood because of his lack of theological training in France." (The italics are ours.) Shortly after this we find: "Indeed, it is unbecoming the standing of an historian like Father Jean Delanglez to carry the torch for a synthetic hero like Jacques Marquette, whose title to fame as the 'great priest-explorer' has been so piously preserved in the cellophane of misinformation." (For this opinion the editor of the magazine is, of course, not responsible.)

Now, in both his article and in his review, Father Short holds that Marquette was a *spiritual coadjutor*. But, we argue, a spiritual coadjutor in the Jesuit constitution is always a *priest*! Therefore, Marquette was a priest. Here the matter might stop, but, backed by the negative evidence that the record of Father Marquette's ordination and first Mass has not been found, Father Short falls into a series of errors which take the form of an unbelievable thesis.

Not to waste too much time on a matter only remotely connected with historical research it may prove interesting to see the framework of Father Short's thesis: First, Marquette as a young Jesuit "perhaps" thought that he might fail in his course of philosophy, and so asked his superiors to send him to the missions; next, Marquette declared that he had no taste for theological studies. Instead of making the logical conclusion that Marquette preferred the missionary life to that of studying and teaching in Europe, Father Short deduces that Marquette had no desire to become a priest! Secondly, Marquette "was the baby boy of this powerful, wealthy, Catholic family . . .," therefore it is reasonable to think that there would be a grand celebration on the occasion of his first Mass; but Father Garraghan, the great Marquette scholar, could not find any "hint or rumor" of this, nor any record of the date of Marquette's ordination; therefore, there was no ordination to the priesthood! Third, "in all the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* there is no mention of his administration of any sacrament other than Baptism, before October 1674." *Conclusion inescapable*: Marquette was not

a priest. *Corollary extraordinary*: Therefore he did not return to Illinois; therefore the whole account of his last year of life is a myth. *Appendix* to the article: A testimonial letter of the Archbishop of Quebec, dated September 10, 1948, certifying that no record of Marquette's ordination in Quebec has been found in the Archdiocesan Archives.

To prove these points of his thesis Father Short carefully culls his evidence from a sum total of thirteen pages of reading. These are pages 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 of Garraghan's article in the January, 1946, MID-AMERICA, and page 17 of O'Dea's article in the January, 1948, number; pages 269, 270, 284, and 285, of Garraghan's article in volume IV of the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*; and pages 167, 189, and 190 of volume 49 of the *Jesuit Relations*. All evidence contrary to the thesis is allowed to remain "piously preserved in the cellophane of misinformation."

Unfortunately for the whole thesis, the one upsetting word was left undeleted in the very first of his citations. The word is "spiritual." It comes in the sentence quoted from Father Hamy's *Au Mississippi*: "Jacques Marquette, of Laon, born June 1, 1637, entered the Society [of Jesus] Oct. 8, 1654 at Nancy; pronounced the vows of spiritual coadjutors July 2, 1671 in Canada at Sault Ste. Marie of the Algonquins." Apparently, to make sure that this documentary statement was actually misunderstood, Father Short adds an item to it in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. He has Marquette take the vows of a spiritual coadjutor *and* temporal coadjutor, or formed lay brother. This, translated into Jesuit terminology is the same as saying that Marquette was a priest *and* a lay brother, that is, he was twins, one in each category.

Far be it from us to bore the reader with another description of the groups, or grades, of Jesuits. These have been described many times and most simply in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, volume XIV, page 83, and in the new *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, volume XIII, page 10. The gradation is: 1) Novices: who enter the order either to become priests or to become coadjutor (lay) brothers; they take simple but perpetual vows after their novitiate and are thenceforth religious; 2) Scholastics, or students for the priesthood; 3) Coadjutors: these in any Jesuit house are priests and brothers; the priests are the spiritual coadjutors and the brothers are the temporal coadjutors; 4) Professed: these are all priests who have made a solemn profession of three or four vows. This should make quite clear just where Father Short made a rather fundamental mistake. It should be quite clear also that there is no grade of *catechist* in the Society,



hence the title of his paper is quite illogical, for it keeps Marquette in the Society by using the S.J. after his name, and puts him, in an unheard of category.

This classification has been in vogue since the sixteenth century and among scholars it has been such common knowledge that no Parkman, Thwaites, Pease, Bolton, Kellogg, Schlarman, Quaife, Nute, Steck, or writers of books and textbooks ever hesitated to mention Marquette as Père or Father.

Did Father Marquette's fellow Jesuits think he was a priest? (Certainly there is no record of their having called him *Brother* Marquette, much less *Catechist* Marquette.) To answer this we need not go beyond the articles cited by Father Short; we merely turn to some of the unused pages of these articles. In the first article we go beyond page 19 to page 22, where we find a document in which Father LeMercier, the mission superior, reports to the General of the Society on: "Father Jacques Marquette, a man well versed in the Algonquin language, of sound health, robust body, excellent character and tried virtue, and highly acceptable to the barbarians by reason of his wonderfully gentle ways." (This is in some contrast to Father Short's estimate: "The crabby, melancholic, rich man's baby boy had gotten just what he wanted: no books, no classes, and the boundless sea and brooding forests that beckoned to The Great Adventure.")

Continuing to page 24 we run upon a letter of Father Claude Dablon to Father Pinet in which there are references to "Pere Marquette," "le pere," and "p. Marquette." The following document on page 25 is an extract of a letter from Pierre Cholenec who expresses a desire to become an imitator of "Reverend Father Marquette," "that great man." The last page of these documents is the letter of Dablon announcing officially to the Provincial of France the death of "that highly apostolic man, Father James Marquette."

Was he officially recognized at the Rome headquarters as a priest? Father Short uses four pages from the *Archivum Historicum* article and documents. The last cited of these is page 285. Had he turned to page 286, he would have found a Latin annotation of the General's secretary written on the back of Marquette's letter of May 31, 1666. This note reads: "P. Jacobus Marquette pro litteris et facultate concessa canadensis missionis maximas agit gratias." (Father James Marquette is deeply grateful for the letter and permission given for the Canadian mission.) Instead of using this Latin page in the *Archivum*, Father Short uses the translation as it appeared in MID-AMERICA, without this notation. (In omitting the

notation Garraghan was not concerned about proving that Marquette was a priest.) Marquette was thus officially known in Rome as a priest, and Garraghan is perfectly sane in assuming that the ordination occurred before this letter was written, May 31, 1666. Consequently, Father Short's "Appendix" is a useless certification, for Marquette was a Père before he set out for Canada. And moreover, he had to wait five years before pronouncing his final vows because that term was necessary for the priests according to the *Institute* of the Society.

The argument that there was no ordination because Garraghan could find no record of it has two definitely weak sides. The record *may* turn up; Garraghan may not have looked in the right place. Secondly, one must subscribe to a much disputed point: "No records, no history," which is bandied about in many books on methodology. In view of the nature of this particular argument one is almost forced to descend to an explanation of fundamentals. If it were left to records alone some of the citizens of our town could not prove that they are alive, or were born, or were baptized, or married. Scholars constantly bemoan the loss, destruction, theft, or misplacement of such records in the many turbulent periods of European history, and the Jesuit houses and archives had no end of such turbulent periods. Besides, if this principle is followed in ecclesiastical history, tradition could no longer have the place it has. This type of argument is pointed out because it might prove a pit-fall to the unwary.

Since Father Short recognizes that Father Gilbert J. Garraghan was "generally considered the best-informed Jesuit historian of the Mid-West, particularly in the field of Marquettiana," and since the meagre documentation behind his thesis was practically all garnered from pages published by Garraghan, it is rather startling to find no consideration whatever given to Garraghan's other writings about Father Marquette. For instance, in *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, April, 1939, Garraghan has "Catholic First Things in the United States," a compilation to which at least twenty-nine authorities furnished information. Here are listed state by state the First Priest, First Resident Priest, First Mass, and First Baptism. According to this, Father Marquette was the second priest to visit Arkansas and Missouri and the first to see Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky.

Did Marquette act as a priest? Father Short simply states that in all the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* there is no record of Marquette administering any sacrament except Baptism before 1674. His only citations from the *Jesuit Relations* are taken

from Volume 49, pages 167, 189, 190, two letters regarding need of missionaries in New France, which seem to have nothing whatever to do with the question. If he had read exactly the same pages in Volume 59 he would have found that Marquette said Mass on different occasions, and on page 181, he offers up the holy mass every day. On pages 190-191 we have the statement of the first recorded masses of the whole Mississippi valley, said by Marquette. On page 192-193 he blesses holy water, and moreover reads his breviary every day. Finally, page 197, he administered the sacrament of penance. Now only a priest performs such ministries. Instead of concluding that Marquette must have been a priest, Father Short, in one brief sentence, without any proof or evidence, repudiates *the whole of volume 59* and states that the above statements are a "charming bit of fiction." And this leads to the inference that all of the renowned scholars of the early Valley history, from Thwaites to the present, have perpetuated this fiction, either as ignoramuses, or prevaricators, or obfuscators.

To take up the point brought up in the last sentence of the article, we ask: If Marquette did not return to the Illinois country and did not die on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, what became of him? This will forever remain a mystery, since there are no other records. All we must do is admit that Father Dablon lied about Marquette's passing, and we shall have a first class mystery.

The big difficulty does not lie in destroying the authority behind the article and the book review. The problem is to answer the questions of people who wish to know: Why did Father Short ever write such things? Why did the editors of two good historical magazines allow them to be printed? Why at this late date does anyone try to commit mayhem on the remains of Père Marquette? These questions we cannot answer. It is merely our purpose here to see to it that contentions in such papers as these and any others of the kind which may be viable, do not get bruited abroad and bring about widespread repercussions. We do not want to see the legislature of the State of Wisconsin putting through a bill to recall the statue of Marquette from Statuary Hall. Nor do we want to see publishers put to the expense of deleting the Père from Marquette's name in their textbooks, nor such institutions as the Pere Marquette Railroad, the Pere Marquette Council of the Knights of Columbus, and the Pere Marquette Baptist Church, suffer the annoyance of changing their signs and letterheads.

*Postscript.* Thus far we have considered only the articles from which Father Short selected the materials for fashioning his thesis,

and it must be clear, even without the document recording his ordination, that Father Marquette lived and died a missionary priest. Now, after this editorial had been set in type, word has come to Father Delanglez from the Roman archives that the official record of Marquette's ordination, overlooked by Father Garraghan, is being sent in photostat. The information is that Marquette was made a priest on March 7, 1666, at Toul.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Institute of Jesuit History

## Book Reviews

*Paths to the Present.* By Arthur M. Schlesinger. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 317.

This collection of essays from the pen of the most distinguished interpreter of America's past has two objectives. One is to explore the origins of our nation's unique civilization; six chapters deal with the American character, the associational activities of this "nation of joiners," immigrant contributions, urbanization, or dietary habits, and the prophesies of self-styled seers who have attempted to cast the national horoscope. The other is to reevaluate aspects of the political and diplomatic past of the United States; four chapters are concerned with the role of the executive in American history, and three with the nation's place in world history.

Such a space allotment invites comparison with Professor Schlesinger's earlier book of essays, *New Viewpoints in American History*, published twenty-seven years ago. In that useful work he explained the American heritage largely in social and economic terms; only two of his chapters were primarily political while six emphasised the economic background. Professor Schlesinger's reawakened interest in politics probably indicates the shifting point of view of many historians. For the past sixteen years they have witnessed the vast social repercussions of strong political leadership; little wonder that they have begun to realize that their earlier reaction against nineteenth-century political history carried them too far afield.

Certainly the portions of *Paths to the Present* that explore our political past are among the most stimulating. His concern is with the six "great" presidents in American history: Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. With dispassionate objectivity he analyses both the traits that elevated them to supremacy and the nation's reaction to their rule. He finds, for example, that all were mediocre administrators, all battled with the supreme court, all were opposed by the nation's press, all were subjected to a tirade of abuse, and all since Jackson wanted a third term and most worked openly to secure one.

Even more shocking to what Professor Schlesinger terms the "*Chicago Tribune* school of historians" will be his sections on America's world role. He conclusively demonstrates that the United States has been involved in every major European war since 1689; World War II, he insists, should properly be labeled World War IX. He proves that no statesman of the early Republic ever counseled isolation as a permanent policy. He shows that every stage in the country's development—every step toward democracy, nationalism, industrialism, imperialism, humanitarianism, and culture—has paralleled similar progress abroad. And he rebukes historians for emphasising the infrequent conflicts between Europe and the United States rather than the common growth of the two continents. "The scholars through whose writings the living generation learns of the past," he writes, "have compiled case studies of abnormal and exceptional behavior."

This is a book that no historian, no political scientist, no intelligent lay-



man, can afford to ignore. Here Americans will find an explanation of their past and a blueprint for their future. Professor Schlesinger has added an admirable guide to further reading on each of the topics treated, but the footnotes which graced most of the essays when they appeared in professional journals have been omitted.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

Northwestern University

*Horns of Thunder; The Life and Times of James M. Goodhue, including selections from his writings.* By Mary Wheelhouse Berthel. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1948. Pp. xii-276.

The publication of this book just in advance of the centennial year commemorating the Congressional Act which constituted Minnesota a territory is most timely. In the first place, it tells the part played by a man who brought his printing press to the village of St. Paul by the first boat in the Spring of 1849 and began publishing a paper immediately. This would justify Miss Berthel's efforts. But, in the "selections from his writings" which constitute nine out of the book's fifteen chapters it supplies a most vivid contemporary picture of the ideals and compromises, the expectations and failures, the things noble and sordid, orderly and lawless that were typical of our nineteenth century frontier as it tried to shake off the barbarian uncouthness of the wilderness and adopt the respectable manners of civilization. To have rescued this record from the obscurity of old newspaper files in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society and to have presented it to Americans whose notion of the period is largely based on glamorized fiction, is a work that deserves especial commendation. Moreover, the author was especially fortunate in finding a contemporary newspaper which has supplied her with such abundant, pertinent material.

Many frontier papers were simply vehicles for local advertising supplemented with stale, national news items and columns of abominable literary efforts clipped from Eastern exchanges. Goodhue, however, had determined to "present a daguerreotype of St. Paul—as we see it springing up fresh and vigorous, like the skeleton of a great city, where but yesterday stood a great forest, filled with wild Indians—" (p. 29). The result is that the "selections from his writings" describe in detail the abodes and occupations of the communities occupied by Americans and French voyageurs at the time of opening the territory; the daily growth of Saint Paul between 1849-1852; the entertainment and social life found there; the first steamboat exploration of the Minnesota River; and the treaty which opened the Sioux lands west of the Mississippi for settlement. His purpose in doing this was to attract immigrants and, hence, Chapter seven is devoted to his editorials as a "Minnesota Booster". This spirit is likewise found in the rest of his writing, but he also was a reformer, and his criticism of the crudities of his chosen land off set his exaggerations. Thirty-three illustrations from contemporary sketches have the same effect.

Goodhue's *Minnesota Pioneer* grew into the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, but Miss Berthel has chosen to limit her selections to the time when the paper was published by the subject of her biography. He died suddenly

in 1852. Hence, the book leaves one with many questions about the development of the territory unanswered. The author's reticence in drawing any conclusions or generalizations from her material has the same effect, but this is probably a virtue rather than a fault. It may lead to similar research which will furnish more adequate grounds for such historical deductions.

The typographical details of the book are excellent, only once was the reviewer led astray by a reference in note 21 on p. 24 which indicated p. 249 when 248 was intended. The index is worthwhile.

RAPHAEL M. HAMILTON

Marquette University

*No Greater Service. The History of the Congregation of Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845-1945.* By Sister M. Rosalita, I.H.M., with a Foreword by His Eminence Edward Cardinal Mooney. Evans-Winter-Hebb, Detroit, 1948. Pp. 863.

*Achievement of a Century. The Motherhouse and Missions of the Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845-1945.* Edited by Sister M. Rosalita. Evans-Winter-Hebb, Detroit, 1948. Pp. 299.

The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary is one of the most flourishing of American teaching sisterhoods. At present there are three independent branches of the institute with motherhouses at Monroe, Michigan, West Chester and Scranton, Pennsylvania. Together they total 3,592 professed Sisters, 209 novices and 104 postulants. The Sisters are employed in three colleges, and more than ninety high, and two hundred grade schools in seven American and two South American archdioceses and in eighteen American dioceses. Moreover the early members of the Daughters of Saints Cyril and Methodius and of the Congregation of St. Casimir were trained in an Immaculate Heart novitiate and the first novices of the Maryknoll Sisters were trained by Immaculate Heart nuns.

A fine history of the West Chester community, written by Sister Maria Alma, was published in 1934. It had been preceded in 1921 by an attractive volume on the Scranton group by Sister Immaculata. There was need for a history of the parent community centering in Michigan. In these two stately volumes, Sister Mary Rosalita of Marygrove College has met this need in a truly excellent way. On the broad canvas of *No Greater Service* she has painted the background, origin, divisions and development of the institute. Even a summary history of the daughter communities is included.

To the founder, Father Louis Florent Gillet, C.S.S.R. and to Mother Theresa Maxis, the author has devoted much research and their stories in these pages answer all pertinent questions. Gillet, a Belgian, was responsible for the foundation. As foundress he installed Mother Theresa Maxis who, since she had been for ten years a member, indeed one of the original group, of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, was well fitted to form the first members religiously. Gillet, who for all his holiness was in his early days a stormy petrel, soon lost sight of his foundation, left the Redemptorists,

failed as a parish priest, and spent many years as an honored member and superior in the Cistercian Order in France. His American daughters never lost their love for their first father and in 1929 his remains were brought back to Monroe, Michigan from France and reinterred in a beautiful memorial chapel.

The career of Theresa Maxis was also chequered. After founding the Monroe community and serving as superior for two terms, this daughter of a mulatto found herself, because of the attitude of Bishop Lefevere of Detroit, obliged to choose between a foundation she had made in Pennsylvania and the Michigan community. In 1859 she chose Pennsylvania but after eight years she, in what was no doubt a desperate effort to reunite her divided family, severed her connection with the Pennsylvania group and went to live with the Grey Nuns in Ottawa. Her efforts in 1868 to reënter at Monroe, or failing that, to found another Immaculate Heart center in New Orleans, were frustrated by Bishop Lefevere. From 1869 to 1885 every attempt of Mother Theresa to reënter the Immaculate Heart sisterhood was unalterably opposed by the local ordinaries. Finally in 1885, Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia allowed her to join the West Chester community. There she spent her last seven years in peace.

The person to whom the Monroe community owes most was Monsignor Edward Joos. He deserves the title of second founder. In 1857, fresh from his native Belgium, he was appointed director and superior of the Immaculate Heart community a position he held until his death in 1901. During the last thirty years he withdrew from pastoral work in order to devote himself exclusively to the religious. On the material plane his was a pay-as-you-go policy. He thought that communities need financial reserves rather than grandiose buildings. In the spiritual sphere, Father Joos was for the strict observance of the rule, which was based on that of the Redemptorists.

Sister Rosalita has also made clear the influence of the Mothers Superior, who especially since Father Joos' death have had increasing authority. Mother Justina, Mother Mechtildis, Mother Domitilla and their successors are of the race of intelligent, spiritual-minded women to whom the Church in America owes so much. Sister Mary Leocadia's long tenure (1894-1938) as mistress of novices must be a kind of record. Her sound spirituality, which is outlined in a brief page, "formed three-fourths of the present congregation to the Immaculate Heart way of life."

In addition to compelling pictures of personalities and a comprehensive study of the development of the Sisterhood, Sister M. Rosalita has excellent chapters on the system of education employed by the Sisters,—a system which came from Bishop Dupanloup by way of Bruges and which embodies the excellencies of traditional Catholic culture. She shows how the system was adapted, and studies the spirit of its application, to American needs. There is also a significant chapter on the missionary spirit of the community.

*Achievements of a Century* gives for each of the foundations a brief table of statistics showing progress during the century and adds interesting extracts from the chronicles of each house. Both volumes are adorned with a profusion of excellent photographs.

Undoubtedly, these two volumes are models of their kind. Written in a clear, readable style, thoroughly documented throughout, they give a re-

liable and comprehensive view of the institute. As Cardinal Mooney says in his distinguished Foreword: "The story as told by Sister Rosalita is a veritable religious epic a narrative of labor and prayer, of heroism and self-sacrifice, a chronicle of lives completely dedicated to God."

E. A. RYAN, S.J.

Woodstock College

*Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara.* By Peter Masten Dunne. University of California Press, 1948. Pp. x, 276. Illustrated.

This is the third volume written by Father Dunne for the University of California series covering Jesuit beginnings in Spanish North America. This present work follows, chronologically, the story which he began in his *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*, the development of the early missions of the Sierra Madre Occidental among the Acaxee, Xixime, Tepehuanes, and into the Laguna area. The first of Father Dunne's three in this series bore the title *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*, beginnings and expansion in the Sinaloa country. The whole series now consists of four volumes; Father Dunne's three follow Father Jerome V. Jacobsen's *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain*.

In this latest volume, Father Dunne chronicles the development of the Jesuit missions in the sierras of Western Chihuahua, the religious parallel to the livestock and mining advance of the Spanish frontier in that area. The first few chapters are something of a review of the story of the Tepehuán missions, with a brief picture of the geographic and ethnologic features of the Chihuahua mountain country, the scene of the missionaries' heroic achievements. This introductory material embraces the early work of Father Juan Fonte, martyred first apostle of the Tarahumar country.

Fonte's work and his martyrdom in the great Tepehuán Revolt of 1616-1617 is followed by a very complete review of the rebuilding of the missions and expansion among the Tarahumar peoples, with Father Gerónimo de Figueroa the central figure in the period prior to the 1670's. Figueroa's work, beginning in 1639, lasted into the period of revitalization which began in 1673. In this year, a large assembly of political, military, religious and Indian leaders was called together at Parral to take decisions on frontier measures and particularly to plan the expansion of the missionary effort. From this picturesque gathering came the real beginnings of modern Chihuahua and a tremendous impetus to complete evangelization of the Tarahumares. Fathers José Tardá and Tomás de Guadalajara now became the principal driving forces in this new dedication to the Tarahumar tribes, west and north from the earlier missions.

From here on, Father Dunne gives a panoramic view, with frequent colorful detail, of the Tarahumar mission growth until the moment of Jesuit expulsion, in 1767. The great figures in this phase are Father Joseph Neumann ("certainly the most important Black Robe in all the Tarahumar missions"), 1681-1732, and the last great apostle, Father Herman Glandorff, 1721-1763, plus the already mentioned Tardá and Guadalajara. In this section of the book there is an abundance of hardship—storms, Indian

revolts, trickery and treason, and the often discouraging isolation of the padres. But there is also the happier side—growth of the individual missions, a Jesuit college at Chihuahua, great heroism, and the rather humorous tales of Father Glandorff's fantastic traveling exploits which made him a legendary figure among Indians still noted for feats of travel. In some detail, with comparative data, are the Zapata visitation of 1678 and the final report of the visitor Lizasoain in 1761. The story ends on a note of tragedy with the sudden order of expulsion and some of the sad details of the way in which the order was carried out.

Father Dunne's excellent running description of the Jesuit deeds among the Tarahumares is rounded out by a good map of the country, a large bibliography, abundant notes, and two appendices which give statistical material from the Zapata, Guendulain, and Lizasoain reports. There are also some photographic illustrations of a few of the mission churches and an excellent index.

One can find but little to criticize in this fine monograph. Occasionally some monotony, possibly inevitable, for there is something of a sameness in a century and a half story of developments which very naturally became somewhat standardized. The author has lightened the reader's task very well in many places, by insertion of entertaining and colorful detail, all to the good. For the non-Jesuit reader, understandably enough, there may seem to be insufficient material from the secular side for a true rounding out of the story, although the author has obviously tried to avoid this lack of proportion. Again, understandably enough, the author is sometimes carried away by the same type of hero-worship that unbalances many biographers; in truth, much of the present volume is biography. But these are minor things and detract but little from what is generally a first-class and highly enlightening story of a truly heroic period in North American history.

In many ways I think this volume is superior to the author's *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*. He seems to have given this present work more affectionate care and the literary style is better polished. Father Dunne and the editors of the series are to be congratulated on such a valuable historical contribution, carefully based on the best authorities and as carefully written.

PHILIP W. POWELL

University of California  
Santa Barbara College

*Church and State in the United States.* By Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., and James Milton O'Neill. Volume XXXVII of *Historical Records and Studies*, United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1948. Pp. 110.

*The First Freedom.* By Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. The Declan X. McMullen Company, New York, 1948. Pp. 178.

The above books are a portion of the large amount of literature that has appeared since the decisions of the Supreme court in the "New Jersey Bus" and the McCollum cases and the advent of the question of federal aid to educational institutions. Father Walsh's contribution is an address originally given before the United States Catholic Historical Society in October,



1947, a few months after the New Jersey school bus decision had been handed down. The writer, after a sketch of the European and American colonial background of the relation of Church and State, enters into the meaning of the First Amendment. He then takes up the un-American ideas that came to this country from nineteenth-century Europe. We must be aware of past trends, he says, as well as those of the present, if we wish rationally to debate the question of Church-State relations.

Professor O'Neill does an excellent job of pointing out some bad logic and bad history in the opinions expressed by the Supreme Court Justices in the *Everson* case. He makes a few slips, however. In his quotation of the Due Process clause he says: "Nor shall any state deprive any citizen . . ." One of the most important words in the Constitution is *person*, not *citizen*, as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The word *person* raises our system to the sphere of the Natural Law, differentiating it from that of the Soviets, for example. Because this usage is repeated by Professor O'Neill, and because he says elsewhere: "The Federal Government has no rights except the rights that the states gave to it," instead of *states and people*, this reviewer wonders if sufficient thought was given to these concepts involving fundamental philosophy. The above quotation should include the *people*, otherwise we are right back where we were before the Civil War with the Calhoun Nullificationists.

Father Parsons' small book should be read by everyone interested in the Supreme Court's recent interpretation of the First Amendment. Written after the *McCullum* decision it is in a better position than the earlier writings to evaluate a trend, to point out the defects in the decisions from logic and the dissenting opinions, and to throw much light on the real attitude of the Justices toward Church and State relationships.

CHARLES C. CHAPMAN

Loyola University, New Orleans

## Notes and Comments

A very unusual book has recently come from the office of Peter Smith, Publisher, (321 Fifth Avenue, New York, 16). This is Constantine Rafinesque's *Western Minerva, or American Annals of Knowledge and Literature*, First Volume, for 1821. The story of *Western Minerva* is interesting, as told in the announcement by Peter Smith and in the preface by E. D. Merrill. In Palermo, Sicily, Rafinesque was editor and publisher of a learned literary and scientific magazine in 1814. He applied for a professorship in one of the American colleges of that time and ultimately became one of the staff of Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, the Athens of the West. Here in 1820 he projected a quarterly magazine to cover the various intellectual interests of the professors, tutors, and students, which he named "Western Minerva." The first number of this designed as a contribution "to dispel the Clouds of Ignorance, Mental Sloth and Apathy," reached the status of page proofs, but got no further because certain ones of the Lexington and Cincinnati press and citizenry resented being placed by Rafinesque in the categories of savages, sophisters, moles, and paltry owls.

Two of the three sets of page proofs disappeared, while the other, corrected in ink by Rafinesque, is now the property of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. This lithoprint before us, reproduced from the original page proofs, is the first actual printing of the *Western Minerva*. Though the print is difficult at times to read, it is a good sample of fonts in the west of that day. The ninety pages are almost "strictly original," that is, with Benjamin Franklin, Leibnitz, Prof. C. S. Rafinesque, Archimedes, M., J. T., Agricola, Mentor, and others. Many of the pages have an interest and flavor and they cover a wide variety of topics. The section of original poetry is put in to please the fair ladies of Lexington and also reach the French speaking people on the periphery of the Athens of the West. It is good to have this book as a sample of early Western Americana.

\* \* \* \*

*The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1550*, by Robert S. Chamberlain, was issued in 1948 as Publication 582 by Carnegie Institution of Washington. It ranks as a contribution in all

respects, except in the service of an index. The maps and the illustrations, the typography, the editing, and the bibliography leave nothing to be desired. The contents are carefully organized and the style is sympathetic and pleasing, while the citations reveal a vast amount of research labor. The book has long been needed.

The era of the conquest of Yucatan is divided into three phases: the discovery and first prase from 1517 to 1529; the second phase carries the story to 1535; the third is the final conquest between 1535 and 1549. The fourth larger section of the work describes the coming of the civilizing influences in the early colonization period from 1541 to 1550, the civil administrators, and the Franciscans. In a sense this story of the conquest of the Maya lands might be called a biography of the Montejo family, Francisco de Montejo and his son of the same name. Their vision of a flourishing province in the New World inspired them with remarkable persistency through the long years of strife and building. These two strong men can take a well won place in the annals of American pioneering, and Dr. Chamberlain has done well to indicate their niche.

\* \* \* \*

*Old Illinois Houses*, by John Drury, has just been published as Publication 51 of the Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. In the Foreword by Dr. Jay Monaghan note is made of the indebtedness of the Society to *The Chicago Daily News* for which Mr. Drury was long a correspondent who wrote for the people on historical sites in Illinois. Since Mr. Drury published *Old Chicago Houses* in 1941, pictures from the metropolis are omitted from the present volume. In this work the author is not as much concerned about the age of the residences as he is in the people who lived in them and are part of the history of the Prairie State. The pictures and the descriptions with their historical background are very interesting. One wishes that he could get into his car and follow the trail of the author house by house through Illinois.

\* \* \* \*

*A Century of Service* is a brochure of seventy-six pages published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It brings together in neat form the addresses delivered in commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society.

Anyone wishing to read about people of rugged character who cluster about the framework of history, may find these several books published by Macmillan of some interest. *Little Annie Oakley and Other Rugged People*, by Stewart H. Holbrook, may be read after the children have retired. It is a collection of articles published in various periodicals for their entertainment value, a gallery of pen-pictures of notorious persons, places, scenes and events, written in a dramatic style. Skeletons of Ethan Allen, Bill Cody, Calamity Jane, Kit Carson, Ned Buntline, the James boys, and others, are brought forth from their closets for the polishing which history has denied them—and probably will continue to deny them, despite the realistic writing of Mr. Holbrook.

*Tomorrow Is Beautiful*, by Lucy Robins Lang, "the girl from the Ukraine who never lost her zest for life and adventure," is either an autobiography or reminiscences, with "none of the marks of dull or pompous history," the jacket tells us. The authoress after her escape from a dull life in the Ukraine became involved in radical labor movements in America, despaired to the point of suicide over the American institutions that protected her, found a new hope in Scandinavia, and returned to a United States that seems to give much promise for the future.

*The Trail Led North, Mont Hawthorne's Story*, by Martha Ferguson McKeown, is about people of rugged character in the rugged Northwest and Alaska. Mrs. McKeown presents the story of his life as told to her by her eighty-three year old uncle. It is a narrative of adventure in the brawling days of the Northwest, containing detailed descriptions of pioneer methods of life (and death) and names that otherwise might slip into oblivion. It may be useful to historians for its accounts of the origins of the salmon industry and the men and women who aided in building the industry, and for some details of the gold rushes to the Yukon.

\* \* \* \*

*Latinoamérica*, a monthly review of culture and orientation, began its career in January of this year. It is published in Spanish by Buena Prensa of Mexico City (Donceles 99-A, Apartado 2181.) Its contributors are many of the scholars and journalists of the Latin American republics. The purpose of the publication is to present an interpretation of world events and ideas to the peoples of these republics and to inform them of the more important heritages of their cultural past.

From Scotland comes *The Story of Pluscarden Priory*, written by a Tertiary of St. Francis and published at the Pluscarden Priory, Elgin, Moray, Scotland. It is an unassuming, paper-bound booklet of 118 pages, including the illustrative drawings and index. Its flavor is distinctly medieval. The first charter was given to the priory by King Alexander II of Scotland in 1233. The records of the first eighty years of its existence are lost or obscure. It was the period of Thomas of Aquino, Dante, Boccaccio, Albertus Magnus, and Bonaventure, of the beginnings of Westminster Abbey and the Doge's Palace in Venice, and of the Scot Declaration of Independence.

The early monks were the White Benedictines from France, who remained at Pluscarden for two hundred and twenty-three years before transferring ownership of the priory to the Black-habited Benedictines in 1456. In 1594-1595 the priory and its lands passed into Protestant hands, first into those of Kenneth Mackenzie and last into those of the Earl of Fife. In 1898 the properties returned to Catholic ownership when purchased by John Patrick, third Marquess of Bute, who began the restoration of the walls and interiors. His youngest son, Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart inherited Pluscarden and from 1920 to 1943 sought to obtain monks for the priory. In 1943 the Benedictines of Prinknash accepted the offer. They are now residing in the priory and attempting by degrees to restore the monastery to its pristine glory.

Around this framework the un-named author weaves a story, diffuse at times, but explanatory of the life in a priory to which so few are called. One is impressed with the agelessness of the narrative as well as its medievalness. The work will prove good reading to many interested in monasticism.

\* \* \* \*

Far, far in contrast with the simple story of seven hundred years of a monastery in Scotland is the most recent publication of the Columbia University Press. This is *The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil, a Culture in Transition*, by Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvao, whose publication date is March 24, 1949. The study of the spiritual and economic culture surrounding a monastery in Europe is so vastly different from the records of the family and sex life of a small group of Indians in the state of Maranhao in northern Brazil that



it staggers the imagination. From inspiring Gothic in the vale of St. Andrews to thatched roofs on the Pindaré River is a long leap.

The Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University and the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations made grants to Mr. Wagley whereby he was able to spend first eighteen months in central Brazil studying the acculturation and later a year in the same type of field work among the Tenetehara. The general program of the anthropologists has as its aim the salvaging of all data about aboriginal tribes before they become extinct or before the tribal customs are contaminated by contact with the whites.

Mr. Wagley's field party of four visited the Tenetehara for four months from November 1941 to March 1942, and in 1945 his three helpers returned for another four months to verify data and to incorporate changes in the natives during the intervening period. The observers gathered all possible information from seven natives in particular and whatever they could hear from the people in general.

The findings are grouped into seven chapters in the book. The first chapter sketches the historical setting in general. The second describes the social organization, the family, the extended family, and the leader, or chief. The economic life of these woodsmen is the subject of the third chapter. Then follows a long chapter on the personal life of the Indians, which is chiefly the sex life of aborigines. Here the harrowing details might readily have been spared since the sexual side of amoral primitives seems no different from that of amoral whites in our larger communities. The religious life as described in the fifth chapter appears to be the same mess that it was when these tribes were first visited by the padres in the seventeenth century. Anything can be made a god by the feverish or stupid imagination of the tribesman, and such subjective gods can be made the instigation or the excuse for any evil deed. The transition in culture in this respect seems to be that the natives are no longer bothering about some of their ancient tribal rites. The sixth chapter is a collection of Indian yarns and beliefs classified as mythology and folklore. According to the publicity writer of the jacket there are "thirty-seven delightful stories." Some of these are revolting rather than "charming." Others, as well as some passages in the earlier text, incline us to wonder if at times the Indians were not joshing the investigators. The last chapter, "A Culture in Transition," is a very good summary of the findings.

The book of two hundred pages is well printed and edited. The pictures and the index are very helpful. Mr. Wagley's style is exact but interesting throughout. Undoubtedly, this study of a section of the broad field of Brazilian culture will be considered as a good contribution by anthropologists and ethnologists.